FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 007 *11 January 1984*

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Warsaw Pact Proposes Talks on Chemical Weapons [TANJUG] AA 1

ALBANIA

Carcani Attends TU Plenum on Economic Tasks B 1

BULGARIA

Atanasov Attends Blagoevgrad Party Plenum C 1
New BCP County First Secretaries Announced C 1
Plane Crash in Sofia Kills All Passengers, Crew C 1
Official Cites Need to Save Electric Power C 1
Briefs: Cardiovascular Diseases; Trade With Bangladesh C 2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FRG, U.S. Making Propaganda Over Stockholm Conference D 1
Leaders Cable Kampuchean Counterparts on National Day D 1
[RUDE PRAVO 7 Jan]
RUDE PRAVO Pays Tribute to Husak on 71st Birthday D 2
Drought Causes 'Grave' Water Supply Problems D 3

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Hoffmann Receives Polish Chief of Staff E 1
Mittag Meets With France's Mauroy, Others E 1
Sindermann Receives UK Parliamentarians E 2
Margot Honecker Receives Finnish Counterpart E 3
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 9 Jan]
Belgian CP Delegation Ends Visit 10 Jan E 3
Paper Reports Kaenz Speech at DKP Congress E 3
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 9 Jan]

HUNGARY

Korom Address to DKP Congress 7 Jan in FRG F 1
[NEPSZABADSAG 7 Jan]
UK, FRG Support for East-West Dialogue Discussed F 2
Telegram, Rally Mark Kampuchean National Day F 3
Leaders' Telegram F 3
[NEPSZABADSAG 7 Jan]
Friendship Rally in Budapest F 3
Official on Processing Industry's Performance F 4
[NEPSZABADSAG 7 Jan]
Food Supply, Agricultural Production Forecast F 10
Food Supply 'Good' F 10
Production to Increase F 10
Abuse of Power by Officials Causes 'Moral Damage' F 10

POLAND

Wiejacz, Urban Holds Weekly News Conference G 1
Wiejacz on FRG, Vatican G 1
Wiejacz on Stockholm Conference G 2
Urban on TU's, Price Hikes G 3
ZYCIE WARSZAWY on Jaruzleski-Glemp Talks G 4
["Z.M.", 6 Jan]
Margueritte Analyzes Glemp-Jaruzelski Talks G 5
[LE FIGARO 9 Jan]
Jablonski New Year Speech Views Postwar Progress G 7
TU I TERAZ Article Examines Russia's Chaadayev G 9
[Chojnacka, 14 Dec]
Politburo Discusses Resolutions Concerning Youth G 14
Michalek Defends Party at Voivodship Conference G 15
[TRYBUNA LUDU 6 Jan]
Process of Rebuilding Trade Unions Viewed G 16

YUGOSLAVIA

Gromyko-Shultz Meeting in Stockholm Discussed I 1
Sundic Commentary on Stockholm Conference I 2
Euromissile Threat to SFRY Assessed I 3
[Ostojic in VJESNIK 7 Jan]
TANJUG Editor on Albanian 'Nationalities Problem' I 4
U.S. UNESCO Decision, Nonaligned News Pool Viewed I 5
[Milojevic in BORBA 9 Jan]
Bulgarian Trade Union Delegation Pays Visit I 6

WARSAW PACT PROPOSES TALKS ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS

LD111352 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] Moscow, January 10 (TANJUG) -- The Warsaw Treaty member countries have offered talks to NATO on freeing Europe from chemical weapons and proposed that "authorized representatives" of the two bloc's member countries "begin talks in the course of the year."

The proposal was presented today, Tuesday, in a written from, to all NATO member countries' ambassadors accredited in the USSR, at the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

The aim of talks should be the coordination of a document, be it an agreement, a convention or a declaration, which would obligate its signatories to measures banning the use of chemical weapons in Europe. The signatories would reach an agreement on the order of measures, including the "freeze of existing arsenals," the [word indistinct] of any further production and tests of chemical weapons and, finally, the destruction of the existing chemical weapons.

The Warsaw Treaty member-countries feel that a prompt adoption of a convention banning chemical weapons in Europe [word indistinct] conditions for similar measures on other continents.

The initiative put forth by Moscow and its allies prior to the forthcoming Stockholm conference is assessed as a chance for opening a new dialogue between the two blocs.

The offer is of "particular importance" in view of the fact that all arms talks, in Geneva and Vienna, have been broken or put off, diplomatic circles in Moscow assess. Although the race in chemical weapons does not carry as much weight as the race in nuclear armament, the same circles note, any (?direct) talks "would be welcome for (the two blocs) to abandon their current intransigent positions." The same circles note that this holds true especially for the latest initiative since, in the event the West reacts positively, actual chances exist for an agreement to be reached.

CARCANI ATTENDS TU PLENUM ON ECONOMIC TASKS

AU101126 Tirana ATA in English 0945 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] Tirana, January 10 [ATA] -- The plenum of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania held its proceedings yesterday. It discussed and defined the targets of the work of the trade unions organizations to fulfill frontally the tasks of the plan of 1984, in the spirit of the decisions of the 8th plenum of the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings.

Attending the plenum were vanguard workers from different fronts of production, cadres from the central mass organizations, departments and institutions, as well as leading cadres and activists of the trade unions. Present was also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani.

The report delivered by the president of the General Council of TUA, Sotir Kocollari, and the contributions pointed out the experience gained last year and stressed that in order to carry into reality the tasks of the 8th plenum of the CC of the party it is required that the role of the trade unions further increase and their educative and mobilizing activity further strengthen. The Plenum laid the need to improve the work on education, qualification and mobilization of the working people, using effective and diversified means such as confrontations, exchange of advanced experience, etc. The plenum laid the task to carry always high and further promote the spirit of revolutionary drives and undertakings.

Comrade Adil Carcani too took the floor at the plenum. He pointed out among the other things the importance of the tasks laid down by the 8th plenum of the Central Committee of the party. The importance of these tasks lies not only on the problems it analysed, but also on the method and feeling of responsibility it discussed. This spirit, he instructed, must be carried in every cell of the economy, in every trade union organization and every worker and collective and it must pervade the analyses of the plan of 1983 and the tasks of this year. The experience gained during 1983, said Comrade Adil Carcani, on mobilizing the people, in understanding the situations, in exploiting the inner reserves, in strengthening the austerity regime, in the work through actions and spreading of the advanced experience must be used in the work to fulfill the plan of 1984.

Further on, Comrade Adil Carcani stressed that the tasks of this year are fully realizable, substantiated scientifically and based on the human, material and financial possibilities of the country. In continuation he underlined that the trade union organisation must carry the advanced opinion of the class and further promote it, it must be always in positions of work and promote every revolutionary undertaking. Likewise he spoke on the problems of the increase of the effectiveness of the socialist emulation, the further improvement of the working and living conditions of the workers, for which the state in the future too will spare nothing.

In conclusion, Comrade Adil Carcani, on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, wished further successes and expressed that the tasks of 1984 will be successfully fulfilled.

ATANASOV ATTENDS BLAGOEVGRAD PARTY PLENUM

AU101631 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] A plenum of the Blagoevgrad Okrug Party Committee, which was attended by Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary and Politburo candidate member, has been held in Blagoevgrad. The plenum relieved Vladimir Sandev of his post as first secretary of the Blagoevgrad Okrug Party Committee because of his transfer to another job. Lazar Prichkapov, BCP Central Committee member and former chief of a Central Committee department, was unanimously elected first secretary of Blagoevgrad Okrug Party Committee.

A plenum of the Kyustendil Okrug Party Committee, which was attended by Comrade Georgi Atanasov, has been held in Kyustendil. The plenum relieved Stanko Todorov Dimitrov of his post as first secretary of Kyustendil Okrug Party Committee because of his transfer to another job. Georgi Grigorov, BCP Central Committee member and former chief of a BCP Central Committee department, was unanimously elected first secretary of Kyustendil Okrug Party Committee.

NEW BCP COUNTY FIRST SECRETARIES ANNOUNCED

AU101904 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Excerpts] Sofia, Jan 10 (BTA) -- At plenums yesterday and today new first secretaries of the county BCP committees were elected in Mikhaylovgrad, Kyustendil and Blagoevgrad.

Mr Petur Nikolov, candidate-member of the CC of the BCP and previous secretary of the county BCP committee, was elected as first secretary of the County BCP Committee in Mikhaylovgrad. The former first secretary of the county BCP committee in Blagoevgrad, Mr Vladimir Sandev was elected yesterday as deputy chairman of the Central Control and Audit Commission.

PLANE CRASH IN SOFIA KILLS ALL PASSENGERS, CREW

AU110852 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 11 Jan 84

[Text] As we have already reported, BTA has informed us that last night, 10 January, at 1938 a TU-134 aircraft of the Balkan civilian airlines company, on its regular flight from Berlin to Sofia, crashed while landing at Sofia airport.

All 45 passengers on board as well as the 5 member crew are dead. A government commission has been appointed to investigate the case.

OFFICIAL CITES NEED TO SAVE ELECTRIC POWER

AU101516 Sofia BTA in English 1453 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] Sofia, Jan 10 (BTA) -- Mr Nikola Todoriev, chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress, comments at a meeting with journalists today on this year's decision of the Bulgarian Government for extra savings of electric power. As a whole the so far installed 10,000 megawatt capacities satisfy the country's needs in electric energy. In this case it is about its most efficient utilization in the peak morning and evening hours above all in the winter period. As Mr Nikola Todoriev said, it is necessary for the industrial enterprises and the whole population of the country to take into account the need to save electric energy of about 200 megawatt capacities.

The chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress pointed out that this savings is necessary for objective reasons, such as the incomplete utilization of the capacities in the hydro-electric power stations because of last year's drought and the reconstruction of some normally old energy sites.

Mr Nikola Todoriev pointed out that the prospects in energy production in Bulgaria are positive. Till the end of 1985 a new reactor with a capacity of 1,000 megawatts is expected to be put on stream at the "Kozlodui" atomic electric power station, to be followed by another similar one two years later. 1000-megawatt nuclear reactors will also be operated at the "Beleme" atomic electric power station as from 1989.

BRIEFS

CARDIOVASCULAR DISEASES -- Sofia, January 6 (BTA) -- Just as in other developed countries, so in Bulgaria the cardio-vascular diseases rank first amont the reasons for the mortality of the population who are above the age of 18 (50.5 percent) and for the disability (23.2 percent). According to data released by the Cardio-Vascular Diseases Institute with the Medical Academy, 10-12 percent of the middle-aged suffer from hypertonia and 9 percent from ischemia, 24 percent of all calls for ambulances in Sofia are for reasons of cardiac crisis and only 13 percent because of traumas. The percentage of the patients with acute rhythm disturbances marked an almost three-fold increase in recent years. 1.48 people per thousand suffer from myocardial infarction -- predominantly the intellectuals, mainly engineers occupying responsible posts and the physicians themselves. Observations have shown that for 40 percent of the patients the infarctions is a complete surprise because of their never having suspected that they suffer from ischemia. With 15 percent of the cases the infarction starts without any symptoms and by not being confirmed by the date of the cardiogram. [Excerpt] [Sofia BTA in English 0840 GMT 6 Jan 84 AU]

TRADE WITH BANGLADESH -- Sofia, Jan 4 (BTA) -- Bulgaria was the first country to sign a trade agreement with Bangladesh in 1972. A year later an economic agreement was also signed on the basis of which Bangladesh was granted a credit to the tune of 4 million pounds for the setting up of complex projects. Alongside this Bulgaria supplied gratuitiously the newly-liberated state with flour, canned fish, medicines, chemical products and metals. About 100 young men and women of Bangladesh began to study in the Bulgarian higher educational institutes. In 1981 a long-term trade agreement was signed by the two countries. It provides for the two countries' trade to amount to 260 million dollars. Bulgaria and Bangladesh granted each other the most favoured nation clause. Last year trade between the two countries exceeded 33 million dollars. Bulgaria exports goods of the chemical and metallurgical industries, of the mechanical engineering, the electronic and electrotechnical engineering, the pharmaceutical industry, farm produce. Bulgaria imports predominantly jute and jute goods, fur, tea and ready-mades from Bangladesh. Last year Bangladesh participated in the international spring fair of consumer goods which is organized in Plovdiv every year. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0834 GMT 4 Jan 84 AU]

FRG, U.S. MAKING PROPAGANDA OVER STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

LD101149 Prague CTK in English 1049 GMT 10 Jan 84

[By Karel Cisar]

[Text] Prague [No dateline as received] -- Remarkable optimism is being expressed in West Germany by a large variety of official and unofficial sources in connection with the forthcoming Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl and diplomatic circles are making repeated predictions that the conference will bring about a turn in international relations.

The statements are intended to make the world forget the danger posed by the deployment of first-strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe, and to make the public believe that the Geneva nuclear arms reduction talks which collapsed because of the militarist policy of the United States will be resumed, as soon as U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and his Bonn colleague Hans-Dietrich Genscher appear in Stockholm.

Bonn is more American than Washington these days, and proclaims loudly that Ronald Reagan will make a speech of fundamental importance before the Stockholm conference, and send out important signals concerning disarmament negotiations.

Reagan, of course, has a more than sufficient number of his own propagandists, but the Bonn government is aware of its need to weaken the strong peace movement in the country, opposed to the U.S. missiles.

All the talk in Bonn and Washington about speeches, signals and initiatives is nothing but propaganda which is intended to create the impression of concern for world peace, and to conceal that it was the militarist policy of the United States which caused the collapse of the talks on nuclear arms reduction in Europe and the troop cut talks in Vienna.

Bonn and Washington act as if they did not know the position of the Soviet Union that the negotiations could be resumed if the United States and the North Atlantic Pact display their readiness to revert to a situation which existed before the start of the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

A really good signal for the Stockholm conference would be if the United States removed its missiles from Western Europe.

LEADERS' CABLE KAMPUCHEAN COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU081509 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] (CTK) Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and CSSR Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal have sent the following congratulatory telegram to Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and to Chan Si, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, on the occasion of the National Day of the People's Republic of Kampuchea:

Dear comrades, on the occasion of the National Day of the People's Republic of Kampuchea we are sending you, the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, the Council of Ministers, and all Kampuchean people cordial comradely greetings and sincere congratulations on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, of the government and the people of the CSSR, and on our own behalf.

We in the CSSR esteem the results that the Kampuchean people have achieved in the reconstruction and development of the national economy, of the social and political life, and in the defense of the revolutionary achievements against the attacks of international imperialism and domestic and foreign reaction. We follow with sympathy the endeavor of the People's Republic of Kampuchea for successfully overcoming the difficult legacy of the Pol Pot regime and for building a new, socially just society in the spirit of the conclusions of the Fourth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party.

By its foreign policy, the People's Democratic Republic of Kampuchea is successfully contributing to the struggle for averting the threat of war and strengthening peace in the world. In cooperation with Vietnam and Laos it is actively participating in the effort to transform Southeast Asia into a region of stability and peaceful cooperation.

We note with satisfaction that the CSSR and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and our parties and nations are tied by relations of friendship, solidarity, and fruitful cooperation. We are convinced that these relations will continue to successfully deepen and expand.

Dear comrades, on this important day for the People's Democratic Republic of Kampuchea we wish you and all Kampuchean people many further successes on the path of building a new society in your country.

RUDE PRAVO PAYS TRIBUTE TO HUSAK ON 71ST BIRTHDAY

LD101319 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 10 Jan 84

[From the press review]

[Text] All the papers carry articles in prominent places and with special layouts and photographs, reminding us of the 71st birthday of general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, Gustav Husak. In an article entitled "Loyalty to the Party, Loyalty to the People," RUDE PRAVO emphasizes that as an outstanding statesman, ardent patriot and confirmed internationalist, Comrade Gustav Husak has gained a permanent place in the modern history of our nation, in the history of our Communist Party, in the international communist and workers movement, and in the chronicles of the struggle for peace and progress in the world.

His membership in the Communist Party for half a century has been filled with selfless work and sacrifice, and courageous and tireless struggle for the rights and better life of the working man, for social and national justice, for socialist Czechoslovakia, and for alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union.

In particular, RUDE PRAVO reminds us of the activities of Comrade Gustav Husak. He was a leading representative of the Slovak National Uprising, which was a historical turning point in the antifascist struggle in Slovakia and in the whole national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people. After the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army, Comrade Gustav Husak held important party and state posts in Slovakia. He played a decisive part in solving the political crisis in the autumn of 1947, and in the defeat of reactionary forces and the victory of the working people in February 1948 in Slovakia.

RUDE PRAVO goes on to emphasize the calling of Comrade Gustav Husak to be the head of the CPCZ at a session of its Central Committee on 17 April 1969. In this way, decisive prerequisites were created for the formation of a new party leadership, for the political defeat of the right, for the renewal of the party's leading role in society, for a faster process of consolidation, and for the return of our society to the path of upward socialist development.

In another section of the article, RUDE PRAVO points to the link between a Leninist solution to the nationality question -- in the spirit of the legacy of the national liberation struggle and the national and democratic revolution -- and the activities of Comrade Gustav Hasak. It values his daily attention to questions concerning the development of the national economy, the continual perfecting of the party's ideological work, the ceaseless strengthening and deepening of its Marxist-Leninist character, the growth of its strength, unity and ability to take action, and its close link with the people.

RUDE PRAVO says that the contribution of Comrade Gustav Husak to strengthening the unity of the international communist and workers movement, and to developing cooperation with forces struggling for democracy, national liberation, social justice and progress, is widely known and valued in fraternal socialist countries and by the entire progressive international public as well. His role in the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism, against the threat of war, and for peace and the easing of international tension is also valued.

Concluding, RUDE PRAVO emphasized that through his life and work, Comrade Gustav Husak has gained the deep respect of the Czechoslovak people and great international authority as a far-sighted statesman and politician.

DROUGHT CAUSES 'GRAVE' WATER SUPPLY PROBLEMS

AU101248 [Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOCRACIE in Czech and Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 5 January both carry reports on the effects of the current drought in various parts of the Republic.

The 150-word CTK report in LIDOVA DEMOCRACIE, published on page 4, states that "the situation in the supply of drinking water in central Bohemia continues to be very grave." In Pribram, for example, supplies of warm water must be "regulated" owing to "very low levels in water reservoirs." Should the drought continue, the report goes on to say, it would be necessary to "take even more drastic measures." An "exceptionally grave situation" prevails in 17 villages and towns of the region, the report says in conclusion, which are "absolutely without water" and where drinking water must be supplied by tanker trucks.

The 450-word "BK"-signed report in MLADA FRONTA, published on the front page, deals with the situation in Moravia. According to the report, the average precipitation in south Moravia in 1983 was "10 to 35 percent below normal" and the level of underground water in the region is "some 40 cm below long-term average." Despite some snowfall in early December, which melted after only a few days, the level of water reservoirs in "Mostiste, Opatovice, Slusovice, Korycany, and elsewhere" continues to decline. A total of 40 communities in south Moravia must be supplied with drinking water by tanker trucks.

Turning to the situation in north Moravia, the report mentions that the Sance water reservoir is short of 25.5 million cubic meters of water and the Kruzberk dam of 15 million cubic meters. "All restrictions on water consumption in the region remain in force," the report says in conclusion, without specifying the nature of the restrictions.

HOFFMANN RECEIVES POLISH CHIEF OF STAFF

LD101508 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1429 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] Berlin, 10 Jan (ADN) -- In view of the unbridled policy of confrontation and arms drive pursued by the United States and its NATO partners, as well as the deployment of U.S. first-strike weapons in West Europe, comradeship-in-arms and cooperation between the armies of Poland and the GDR -- fraternally allied with the armed forces of the USSR -- will deepen further. This was underlined by Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of defense, and Lieutenant General Jozef Uzycki, deputy minister of defense and chief of staff of the Polish Army, during a talk today. During the meeting at the GDR Defense Ministry, the two men discussed current issues related to the military-political situation.

Army Gen Hoffmann informed his guest about first results of the political and combat training in the 1983-84 training year. Lt Gen Uzycki briefed him on the efforts of Polish Army members to fulfill their patriotic and internationalist duty in safeguarding peace and socialist achievements with great fighting power and combat readiness.

MITTAG MEETS WITH FRANCE'S MAUROY, OTHERS

LD102102 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1752 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] Paris 10 Jan (ADN) -- The further development and strengthening of mutually advantageous political and economic relations between the GDR and France formed the main topic of a discussion for which the French premier, Pierre Mauroy, received Guenter Mittag, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and GDR State Council member, in Paris on Tuesday. Guenter Mittag conveyed to Premier Mauroy cordial greetings from the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, which were reciprocated in an equally friendly manner. At the same time, Guenter Mittag asked his host to also convey Erich Honecker's greetings to the president of the French Republic, Francois Mitterrand.

A constructive exchange was held in an open atmosphere on concrete steps aimed at a further successful development of bilateral relations and on topical international issues.

The two sides stressed the will of their governments, regardless of their differing views on the causes of the present political situation, to do their utmost to help consolidate peace and avert a nuclear catastrophe. Both sides came out in favor of continuing political dialogue and high-level government contacts.

During the discussion, French Premier Pierre Mauroy expressed his country's strong interest in a consistent continuation of the successfully developing economic, industrial and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries. There were already a considerable number of very positive results in various fields. Referring to future developments, Pierre Mauroy mentioned, among other things, industrial cooperation in selected areas. France was ready, in accordance with its own economic plans, to find constructive solutions for a consistent development of economic cooperation with the GDR.

Guenter Mittag briefed the French premier on the GDR's attitude toward the key issue of international politics, preserving and securing peace against the policy of confrontation and arms drive. He explained in this respect important aspects of the SED Central Committee's seventh congress and drew attention in particular to the statement of principle made in Erich Honecker's speech that the GDR's primary goal in foreign and security policy was to help prevent a nuclear inferno and secure world peace.

The GDR is consistently guided by the thought of doing everything to ensure that no war ever again emanates from German soil.

Pierre Mauroy and Guenter Mittag agreed that the fruitful cooperation between the GDR and France will be a factor which serves to safeguard peace, which will have a positive influence on international developments. Both politicians noted with satisfaction that relations between the two states had last year continued to develop successfully and be strengthened in various fields.

Referring to economic matters, Guenter Mittag explained the successful, stable and dynamic development of the GDR economy last year. At the same time, he elaborated to his host the goals adopted in the 1984 plan. These give rise to more very favorable opportunities for an uninterrupted intensification of economic, industrial, and scientific-technological cooperation with France. The GDR Government is ready to make consistent use of these opportunities, said Guenter Mittag. He put forward a number of specific proposals in this respect, including a proposal to draw up and conclude a program for developing economic relations for the 1985-90 period.

Present at the discussion were Dr Gerhard Beil, member of the GDR Council of Ministers and state secretary in the Foreign Trade Ministry; and the GDR ambassador to France, Dr Werner Fleck.

Another meeting took place between Guenter Mittag and his entourage, and the president of the French Employers' Association, Yvon Gattaz. this was also attended by the chairman of the GDR committee in the Employers' Association, Michael Collas, the president of the Arbel industry and Norfer; Conrad Bernstein, the president of the French shipyard industry; Gilbert Fournier, the director general of Citroen; Raymond Ravenel, the president of Creusot-Loire; Didier Peneau-Valencienne, the president of Intelautomatisme; Etienne Roussel, and the president of Serete, Philippe Kessler.

The French Industrialists expressed great respect for and satisfaction at their favorable experiences so far in cooperation for the benefit of both sides. They praised the strength and stability of the GDR economy.

Both sides stressed that the French Employers' Association Committee, formed last year to promote economic relations with the GDR, could do valuable work. The strong presence of French industry, discussed at the meeting, at the coming Leipzig Spring Fair would also serve this goal.

On Tuesday evening the GDR ambassador to France, Dr Werner Fleck, gave a reception in honor of Guenter Mittag. Numerous representatives of the French Government, industry, and French public life were among the guests.

The evening provided an opportunity for further meetings and discussions in which politcians and well-known representatives of French industry and trade expressed their satisfaction at the high standard of relations between the two countries and their desire to augment what had already been achieved in the interests of peace and detente.

SINDERMANN RECEIVES UK PARLIAMENTARIANS

LD101913 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1612 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] Berlin, 10 Jan (ADN) -- Together with the USSR and its other allies, the GDR has made every effort to prevent a new round in the arms race. This was stated by president of the GDR People's Chamber Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, during a frank discussion in Berlin on Tuesday with a delegation of the British interparliamentary group, headed by its chairman, Peter Temple-Morris.

NATO bears sole responsibility for the situation that has now arisen, Horst Sindermann continued. Reason and respect for the life of mankind now make one thing necessary: stopping the stationing of NATO nuclear weapons and dismantling systems that have already been installed. Constructive steps must be taken to limit and reduce arms in East and West in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. Parliamentarians have a special responsibility in this respect. The People's Chamber president agreed with his interlocutors that the preservation and safeguarding of peace must be the main topic of political dialogue in order to guide developments in the international situation back into peaceful channels.

The meeting was attended by the chairman of the GDR Interparliamentary Group, Deputy Herbert Fechner. Also present was the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Peter Malcolm Maxey.

During their visit of several days, the British delegation will have further talks with the chairman and deputy chairmen of the GDR interparliamentary Group and will visit Potsdam.

MARGOT HONECKER RECEIVES FINNISH COUNTERPART

AU101251 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Jan 84 p 1

[Excerpt] Dresden (ADN) -- On Sunday Kaarina Suonio, minister of primary education of the Republic of Finland, visited Dresden. Kaarina Suonio is staying in the GDR at the invitation of Margot Honecker, GDR minister of public education, who cordially welcomed her guest on her arrival on Saturday at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport and held initial talks with her.

BELGIAN CP DELEGATION ENDS VISIT 10 JAN

LD101318 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1037 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] Berlin, 10 Jan (ADN) -- The Belgian Communist Party delegation led by party chairman Louis van Geyt ended its visit to the GDR today. The guests were cordially seen off by Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and head of the Central Committee's International Relations Department.

PAPER REPORTS KRENZ SPEECH AT DKP CONGRESS

AU101700 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Jan 84 p 5

[Report on address given by Egon Krenz, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the Seventh DKP Congress in Nuernberg on 7 January]

[Text] The climax of the consultations at the Seventh DKP Congress in Nuernberg on Saturday was the greetings address of the head of the SED Central Committee delegation, Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. Amid stormy applause he conveyed from the German peace state the fraternal militant greetings of the SED, its Central Committee, and its general secretary, Erich Honecker.

The communists and all the GDR people are following with great sympathy and respect the struggle of the FRG Communists for peace and disarmament, for work and social progress, Egon Krenz stated. "Your struggle for the social and democratic rights of the working people, your communist steadfastness and internationalist policy demonstrate the loyalty of the DKP to the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin as well as its determination to stand in the foremost ranks in this turbulent and strife-torn time, when the happiness of the people, when peace are at stake."

What the DKP has done and is doing against the transformation of the FRG into a U.S. missile arsenal proves it forever as a decisive force of the peace movement before history. In their struggle the comrades of the DKP can also in the future rely on the militant solidarity of the communists and the citizens of the first German worker-peasant state, Egon Krenz reaffirmed.

Grave Responsibility

The head of the SED delegation stressed: "Your congress is taking place at a time when due to the deployment of new U.S. first-strike weapons the danger has arisen that -- contrary to all assurances stating otherwise -- a war may be started from FRG territory against the Soviet Union, against us in the socialist countries. With its "yes" to the missile deployment the FRG Government has accepted grave responsibility for the fact that the European peoples are at present experiencing one of the most dangerous tests of endurance in the postwar period."

The congress is also taking place in a time, Egon Krenz stressed, when the mass movements against war and war profiteers are gaining in strength, manifoldness, and political attraction as never before. "Now it has been proven in a particularly impressive way that communists are the most decisive strugglers for the ideal and for the reality of peace."

Egon Krenz referred to the fact that at the seventh SED Central Committee meeting Erich Honecker answered the question of how things will develop in view of the situation changed due to the missile deployment begun by NATO as follows: "The struggle for averting a nuclear world war, for ending the arms race is continuing now all the more." Egon Krenz added: "It speaks in favor of the agreement of our two Marxist-Leninist parties in evaluating the international situation from a class-oriented viewpoint when your party congress draws the conclusion: 'Peace must be victorious. Now all the more: Jobs instead of missiles.' This is -- as the report of Comrade Herbert Mies proves -- a clear, realistic and true to life program of the FRG Communists for a peaceful and happy future."

Struggle for Coalition of Reason Continues To Be on the Agenda

The deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles, begun against the will of the majority of the peoples and contrary to all common sense, is the attempt of U.S. imperialism to destroy the military-strategic balance to thus regain its world domination, Egon Krenz declared. "It must not and will not achieve this -- in the interest of peace, in the interest of the people! Therefore the struggle for a 'coalition of reason' will remain on the agenda. Therefore the struggle for a 'coalition of reason' will remain on the agenda. Therefore we also demand that the deployment of U.S. missiles be immediately stopped and that those that have already been deployed be dismantled and to thus open the way for disarmament."

The GDR together with the USSR and the other socialist countries has undertaken every effort to prevent a new round of arms race, the speaker continued. This was also the purpose of the numerous talks of Erich Honecker with leading politicians of the FRG. "If the FRG Government followed the proposals of the chairman of the GDR State Council, the territories of the two German states could be a zone free of nuclear battlefield weapons and thus the core of a Europe free of nuclear arms."

Better to Negotiate 10 Times Than to Shoot Once

In the further course of his speech the SED delegation head stressed:

We communists are peace strugglers of action! We never have nor shall we ever act for love of arms but always for love of life!"

He went on to say: "We shall never yield wherever firm determination is necessary to prevent the military-strategic superiority to which imperialism aspires." The military measures initiated by the GDR and the CSSR do not threaten anybody, but they are unrenouncable as a counterweight to NATO's stepped-up armament. This has been clearly expressed in Yuriy Andropov's statement of 24 November 1983: "This statement, which our party supports fully and entirely, is in keeping with the finest tradition of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union since Lenin's historic decree on peace.

"We will never leave the peoples' gains created by peaceful work irresponsibly unprotected," Egon Krenz reaffirmed. Proof of how perilous this would be has been proferred by the brutal U.S. aggression against Grenada, was made evident by the undeclared, yet organized war against Nicaragua, and is being evinced by the insidious actions in the inflamed Lebanese situation and on the African Continent.

"The peoples' need for security shoulders us with the responsibility of protecting peace with all possible means," the speaker underscored. "We do not want to nor shall we permit a massacre of peoples to ever spring from German soil again." In this context he recalled Erich Honecker's words: "As genuine partisans of peace we are always guided by the ancient popular wisdom that it is better in any case to negotiate 10 times than to shoot once."

No Chance for Adventurous Dreams

This is why the GDR is pursuing political dialogue with all those who are ready for an understanding, Egon Krenz continued. This is why it supports the proposal for the expeditious conclusion of a treaty between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on renouncing the use of military force and the first use of nuclear arms. This is why the GDR regards it as important to reduce the military confrontation on the continent and to make relations between states more predictable again. The GDR will also in the future carefully examine any reasonable FRG Government proposals that contains a real chance of normalizing the relations between the two German states in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Basic Treaty.

"It is and remans an axiomatic principle for this, however, that these relations must primarily serve peace. He who hopes to be able to exploit the exacerbated world situation in order to come one step closer to his adventurous and greater German dreams with respect to the GDR has no chance with us. The GDR's sovereignty and security are inviolable!"

Impregnable Barrier Against War and Reaction

The SED delegation head pointed out that the Seventh DKP Congress is taking place at the beginning of the year "in which we are commemorating the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR." Egon Krenz pointed out in this context: "The more we depart in terms of time from that date, 7 October 1948, the more clearly the facts prove that the founding of the GDR was not only a turning point in the history of the German people but of all of Europe. The emergence and growth of our state prove that the GDR has become an inpregnable barrier against war and reaction, a mainstay of peace in the heart of our continent, and the German republic of peace and freedom. Our people have created for themselves a state where social security is a paramount requirement of policy. The people's will can assert itself for the people's benefit."

The socialist achievements of daily life in the GDR -- with all the problems that each step onto new ground also entails for us -- are becoming particularly clearly evident if they are placed into the proper relationship with the economic and social situation in the FRG, as expounded in Herbert Mies' report and during the discussion, Krenz continued. The right to work is a constitutional principle and a daily life experience in the GDR's worker-peasant state. Scientific-technical progress serves man and does not turn into a curse. Rationalization proceeds with the working people and in their interest. The robots do not become a nightmare but allies in boosting labor productivity and in concurrently improving social conditions.

As an example of the immediate results of the GDR's social program the speaker pointed out: Housing conditions for 6 million citizens -- this is more than one-third of the population -- have basically improved since 1971, and another 4.3 million people will receive new or modernized housing by 1990. "Where on German soil has so much ever been built for the working people in such a short time, and with stable, low rents at that!" Krenz stated.

Social security is an expression of the socialist humanism of our worker-peasant state, the SED delegation head stressed. The unity of economic and social policy, which is also being pursued under the complicated conditions of the eighties, is a policy which is most deeply committed to man.

Now More Than Ever: Battle Slogan of Millions

Egon Krenz continued: "We are proceeding toward the 35th anniversary of the founding of our GDR with the good feeling that we are successfully implementing the historic mission of the workers class on German soil. Fraternally and inseparably linked with the Soviet Union and the other socialist peace states, we stand shoulder to shoulder with all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces in the world."

Recalling the time 65 years ago when the DKP emerged from the storms of the November revolution, the SED delegation speaker stated that at that time it was Karl Liebknecht who provided the masses with a banner with his proud optimistic slogan "Despite everything!" "Today, in view of the danger of a nuclear war fanned by the most aggressive imperialist quarters, we say: 'Now more than ever.'

"We know well that with this militant slogan we are at one with millions of peace strugglers in the world and also with you, dear women and men comrades, the most consistent advocates of the FRG working people. Your party and ours have grown out of the same revolutionary roots -- the KPD. Every one of us is struggling at his proper place in order to make all these things a reality for which Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck have fought and suffered."

Egon Krenz wished the FRG Communists steadfastness, confidence, and success in their struggle for peace and work. He ended with the words: "Let us jointly work to ensure that peace is preserved for us and the coming generations.

"Despite everything and now more than ever!"

Subsequently the SED delegation presented a mural tapestry with the portraits of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg to the party congress to the strong applause of the delegates.

KOROM ADDRESS TO DKP CONGRESS 7 JAN IN FRG

AU081531 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Jan 84 p 3

[Correspondent Andras Kanyo report: "The Seventh DKP Congress Has Begun Its Work, Herbert Mies' Speech, Address by Mihaly Korom"]

[Excerpt] Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Mihaly Korom, head of the Hungarian party delegation, made a speech at a rally staged at a Nuernberg youth center. Earlier, Mihaly Korom conveyed to the congress greetings from our party's Central Committee and presented a gift of the MSZMP -- a small-scale replica of Parliament.

The Address of the Head of the Hungarian Party Delegation

Dwelling on international issues, the head of the Hungarian party delegation noted in his speech that the start in the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe has brought about a new, dangerous situation, increased the threat of war and had an unfavorable impact on the already strained East-West relations. For all this, the U.S. Government is primarily to be blamed. But, according to our conviction, those Western European leading circles that, giving in to U.S. pressure and failing to consider the most elementary security interests of their people, decided in favor of the missile deployment, are also responsible.

The socialist countries of the Warsaw Pact have consistently made and are making efforts to avoid the dangers threatening humanity. The Soviet Union, with an entire range of proposals taking into consideration the security interests of the other side, tried to promote the limitation of strategic and medium-range nuclear weapons in Geneva through a mutually acceptable agreement. It was not the socialist countries' fault, but the NATO countries' fault that, due to the rejection of the socialist countries' proposals and initiatives, the arms race did not slow down, but, on the contrary, has increased.

The Hungarian People's Republic, together with the allied socialist countries, represents the position that in our world today, the only negotiable path is the policy of peaceful coexistence, and that there is no sensible alternative for mankind. We believe that there are not and cannot be controversial international political issues that cannot be solved through negotiations taking into consideration the creation of agreements based on the principle of equal security. All this requires maintaining of the dialogue and the building of mutual trust. It is our conviction, too -- and this has been proved by the experience of the seventies -- that the economic, technical-scientific, cultural, and other relations between countries of different social system benefit all the people and serve the cause of universal human progress. Therefore, Hungary, in concert with the countries of the socialist community, will strive in the future, too, to contribute, in collaboration with all peace-loving and well-intentioned forces, and firmly repelling all attempts to weaken our community system, to the reversal of the dangerous trend of development of international life, to easing tension and reviving detente. In the spirit of these efforts, we foster our relations with countries of a different social system, thus with FRG, and participate in the work of international forums, among them the Stockholm conference, starting in the middle of this month and which is of particularly high importance considering the current dangerous situation.

Following this, Mihaly Korom spoke about the fact that the more difficult world political and economic conditions and the more complex tasks oblige us to utilize even more efficiently than before the domestic and international experience of socialist construction work.

In the framework of the socialist system we are searching for those methods which enable an even fuller utilization of the workers' creativity and ability to take initiatives, and the creation of the best harmony possible between individual and social interests. In concert with this, we will pay even more attention to the open and sincere policy, the continuous strengthening of relations between the party and the people, the advancement of socialist democracy, and strengthening of socialist national unity. Our strong alliance and cooperation in all areas of life with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community represent the most important external support for safeguarding our security and independence and the efficiency of our domestic construction work. We will continue, in the future, too, to consider the strengthening of our unity and cohesion our most elementary international task, Mihaly Korom said among other things.

The DKP is continuing its work today.

UK, FRG SUPPORT FOR EAST-WEST DIALOGUE DISCUSSED

LD101948 Budapest in English to Europe 1150 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] In separate press statements Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British prime minister, and Mr Helmut Kohl, the Federal German chancellor, have expressed their support for the continuation of an East-West dialogue. Mrs Thatcher pointed out that there was need for communication of a more personal nature between East and West, whereas Chancellor Kohl noted that he would like to see a continuation of the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States. For International Newsroom, Gyorgy Jakobi comments:

According to many years of experience, an East-West dialogue is essentially important for a balanced international atmosphere. Hungary has always held the view that even under the more difficult world political conditions -- or, precisely during such a period -- a dialogue has to be maintained. Statements made to this effect by the British and the Federal German prime ministers are certainly to be welcomed, although it would be difficult not to overlook the ambiguous nature of their policy. At present Europe is in a more difficult position than at any time since World War II and both the British and the Federal German Government must share responsibility for such a situation.

The starting of the deployment of first-strike American missiles in Western Europe directly and logically led to the breaking off of disarmament talks and when today Britain and Federal Germany call for the continuation of the talks, in effect, they illustrate the failure of their own policy.

Speaking on television, the noted Soviet political commentator, Mr Aleksandr Bovin, pointed to the fact that it was very difficult to discuss confidence-building measures when the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are the targets of new types of missiles. However, the British and Federal German prime ministers are also facing opposition from the general public of their own respective countries, who have firmly protested against the deployment of new American nuclear missiles and are opposed to the new situation brought about by the new round of the arms race.

There is no doubt about the fact that a dialogue is necessary. But, when calling for a dialogue, the British and Federal German Governments do so in an attempt to justify their policies as they are confronted by mounting public opinion. For many years the peoples of Europe have been enjoying the benefit of detente and even under the more difficult conditions they do not want to give up hope.

Against this background, it is understandable that there is keen interest both in the East and the West in the Stockholm conference, devoted to disarmament, confidence-building and security, scheduled to open next week. The Stockholm conference will provide yet another forum for a dialogue and the keen expectation and attention, devoted to the Stockholm conference, confirm that the process of Helsinki has deep roots in Europe and the promotion of that spirit is now the most important task.

TELEGRAM, RALLY MARK KAMPUCHEAN NATIONAL DAY

Leaders' Telegram

AU091345 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Jan 84 p 3

[Text] On the occasion of the national holiday of Kampuchea, Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent a greeting telegram on 6 January to Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK], and Chan Si, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRK, in Phnom Penh. The text of the telegram is as follows:

Esteemed Comrades! On the occasion of the national holiday of the PRK, on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and our working people, we send our comradely greetings to you, the Central Committee of the KPRP, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the PRK, and the Kampuchean people.

Our people view with appreciation the results of the Kampuchean people achieved under the leadership of the KPRP in the last 5 years. We are convinced that your efforts in strengthening the revolutionary achievements, reconstructing the country, and restoring the national economy, will bring further success.

We highly appreciate and support the initiatives of the PRK toward strengthening peace and security in the Indochinese area. We are happy to see that the friendly relations of our parties, countries and peoples are steadfastly developing in all areas of life.

On behalf of the MSZMP, the Presidential Council and Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, and our entire working people, we wish you and your people further success in carrying out the tasks set forth by your party's fourth congress, in making your country flourish.

Friendship Rally in Budapest

LD101128 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] Budapest, January 9 (MTI) -- On the fifth anniversary of the victory of the Kampuchean revolution a rally was held in Budapest, Monday.

Bela Kovacs, secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, recalled that the Pol Pot clique that abused the idea of socialism caused the Kampuchean people a great deal of suffering and trials, smashed the state machinery, and paralyzed the economy, popular and national traditions, religious customs and cultural values.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique assassinated millions of Kampucheans. The revolutionary forces started a struggle and organized a popular revolt against the clique, and in cooperation with the Vietnamese, dealt a powerful blow to the Pol Pot followers, and destroyed and ousted the Khmer Rouge from Kampuchea. The rule of the people then began. Political, economic and social development in the past five years have proved that the Kampuchean people headed by the Revolutionary Party have been pursuing the right course.

Bela Kovacs stressed that high-level meetings in recent years have deepened the friendship of the Hungarian and Kampuchean peoples, and strengthened comprehensive political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural and health relations. An example of solidarity is the children's town for 1,000 orphans, which was built by Hungarian young people near the Kampuchean capital.

ao Samreth, charge d'affaires ad interim of the PRK, said "The relations of the PRK and Hungary are continuously developing. The meetings of delegations were important events in the strengthening of relations. The Kampuchean-Hungarian friendship children's town, and the Hungarian people's humanitarian assistance, show our fraternal cooperation.

OFFICIAL ON PROCESSING INDUSTRY'S PERFORMANCE

AU101532 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Jan 84 p 5

[Report on interview given by Adam Juhasz, state secretary of the Ministry of Industry, to Katalin Bossanyi -- place and date not given]

[Text] For a fairly long time, the processing industry, which plays a decisive role in how competitive the conomy is in the world market, has been experiencing "lean years." With one or two exceptions, the effectiveness and profitability of our machine industry, chemical industry and light industry have not sufficiently improved, but, in many areas, have deteriorated compared with international standards in recent years.

In order to halt the unfavorable processes, a thorough exposure of the reasons for this was needed. The industrial policy concept endorsed by the Central Committee last year is already based on such clear-sightedness. At the same time, t he concept also lays down those main directions of development through a consistent enforcement of which it would be possible not only to moderate our lag, but also to ensure that our processing industry would be able to mesh effectively into lasting world market trends. However, neither in the short term nor in the longer term can the endeavors of industrial policy be taken out of the context of, or separated from, economic policy as a whole. How far the present concept can be implemented in the course of daily work depends, among other things, on the development of general conditions for economic acticity and the extent to which regulation, incentives and enterpreneurial opportunities aid the selected development of industry and strengthen its competitiveness. It was these issues that we discussed with Adam Juhasz, state secretary of the Ministry of Industry.

[Bossanyi] The events in the world market in the past decade have induced even countries with a more developed processing industry than ours to reorganize their ranks in many respects. This makes the timeliness of the new industrial policy concept even more emphatic. However, how does this general principle become a reality in industrial branches, in production refinements and at enterprises?

[Juhasz] The industrial policy concept actually only provides a framework today, which we must jointly fill with substance. However, to make it at all possible for this joint work of the main agencies and organizations pursuing economic activity to begin, there was a need to change the outlook reelected in the concept, which was raised to the status of economic policy by last year's Central Committee resolution. The concept asserts both aspects of selective development: It truly gives priority to competitive and profitable activity and dooms those organizations that operate at a constant loss to suppression and a withdrawal of resources. It should be added that the realization that only thus can our lag be moderated is not new. However, for many reasons, its enforcement has thus far been delayed or has been inconsistent.

I regard it as very important that the transformation of the principles of industrial policy into an economic program temporarily coincides with a further development of regulation and macromanagement. For industry -- and this means primarily the processing industry -- a modernization of the mechanism and an acceleration of the reform process constitute a matter of life and death. Simultaneously, they create a compulsion [kenyszer] and could mean an added opportunity for inner regeneration, for, to be sure, substantive progress calls for a strict self-examination and, in some cases, self-criticism, for improving the competitiveness of the processing industry. However, it is at least as necessary for us to expose those regulatory, macromanagerial, and entrepreneurial limitations that, in the longer or shorter term, impede the realization of the industrial policy concept, and which occasionally also create an adverse motivation.

[Bossanyi] Let us proceed from the experiences of self-examination. According to international comparisons, our processing industry's international competitiveness is constantly deteriorating; we are increasingly lagging behind the advanced industrial countries with regard to technology, product structure, productivity, and quality.

[Juhasz] Fortunately, there are many industrial enterprises -- and, contrary to general belief, not only small plants and businesses, but large enterprises as well -- to which this statement does not apply at all. Suffice it for me to mention only Raba, Medicor, Videoton, the Kobanya pharmaceutical factory, Bilgal, the Tisza chemical combine, Taurus, Rabatex or the Quality shoe factory. Not only have these enterprises managed to keep up with their competitors in a technological and economic sense, but, despite the difficult market situation, their exports have also expanded. Unfortunately, this cannot be said for industry as a whole.

This is proved by the fact that, following a 20-percent deterioration in trade due to the energy price explosion, there has been an identical loss in the sphere of processed products. This was caused mainly by our slow and weak reaction to the so-called technology price explosion. But also by low productivity, innner lack of organization, inadequate appreciation of expertise, experts, and achievements in general. We cannot blame external influences for all this, only the weakness of our own work. And the consequences represent a much bigger and lasting danger for us, because there is the risk that we shall slide back from the group of medium-level developed industrial countries to the group of developing countries. A typical example of this is the fact that the average capitalist import prices of machines and installations increased 54 percent from 1970 to 1980, while our export prices for the same types of products increased only 20 percent. Our losses developed similarly in the clothing industry and the chemical industry. There are, of course, examples to show the opposite, which are instructive, because they show that these processes are not inevitable. In the case of processed aluminum products -- also in a deteriorating world market situation -- import prices increased 39 percent, while our export prices increased 79 percent.

[Bossanyi] What causes the losses to considerably surpass the world economic effects in the processing industry?

[Juhasz] The causes can be found in many geographical, industrial-historical, organizational, and other disadvantages. It is my personal conviction that in the current situation of deterioration -- following the general world market trends and even strengthening them -- the weakness of the ability for initiative and renewal has already become more decisive, and this can be traced back basically to a lack of economic compulsion for good performance, that is, to the fact that enterprises can subsist with much smaller achievements than those in the vanguard; they do not become bankrupt. One might think that the steady deterioration of trade of the people's economy is reflected in the achievements of the enterprises. In reality, however, there were only 9 enterprises with losses and 14 enterprises with low efficiency in the state industry in 1982. A paradoxical situation has emerged in which, despite the fact that the industry's achievements decreased compared to the international situation, the majority of economic organizations worked well according to our system of values, and achieved a higher profit than expected, in spite of extra burdens and the withdrawal of funds. It follows from this that behind higher profit there was not, in every case, a genuine over achievement.

The lack of ambition to achieve good performance originating from "above" has a ripple effect on different groups and individuals within the enterprises and also determines relations among the enterprises. The fact that we do not appreciate the outstanding and steady achievements either on an enterprise level or an individual level -- while we keep the weaklings alive precisely by keeping back the good ones -- orients even the attitude of competitive enterprises toward a lack of ambition and toward easily achieveable results.

Our steel industry, for instance, even with modern installations, can produce only commercial-quality steel; the higher grade steel for tools, and transformers and corrosion-resistant sheets are supplied by imports from capitalist countries. The majority of the buses we export to the West are built on foreign-made chassis, and the engine, driving gear and main units of these buses, which are the essential parts of these vehicles, are not our products either.

Finished and packaged pharmaceuticals that bring a greater profit account only for a negigable portion of our pharmaceutical products sold on the capitalist market, the rest consists only of semi-finished products. The situation with regard to products marketed at home is similar.

In the course of the preparation of the industry policy conception, and also during the current professional discussions dealing with the further development of the regulation system, it has become clear why all this hinders the market adaptability of the processing industry and the enforcement of a selective industrial policy. What is at issue today is not only the fact that, due to, for instance, one-sided industrial development, lack of capital or backwardness of the background industry [hatteripar], enterprises find it difficult to operate certain production branches completely and competitively. At issue today is also the fact that due to the inadequacies of economic compulsion and encouragement, they are not really interested in this. Also having a bad influence on renewal is the fact that the work concerning personnel employed by the state, mainly in large-scale industry, the management of branches, and the attitude towards social supervision, are outdated and not achievement-oriented enough. Evaluation not according to achievements, measuring ourselves solely by our own standards, inadequate knowledge of world developments, "making an ideology" out of backwardness, and explaining away failures are true current problems. Through their joint effect, self-generating processes have emerged, and, unless we change this quickly it will become impossible to make up for our backwardness.

[Bossanyi] How do these self-generating processes manifest themselves?

[Juhasz] There are positive and negative self-generating processes. The fact that, amid more difficult marketing conditions, too, enterprises are compelled to increase their exports dynamically as a result of the encouragement and "influence" directed towards this end has a positive effect. For this, they must, among other things, become better acquainted with the achievements of their competitors and the demands of the market and must compare themselves to the international field. This produces a complex technical-economic attitude that contributes in every respect to the reorganization of the product structure and development of readiness for initiative and enterprise. I believe that, in this case, also, the old saying "the palm tree grows best under a burden...," is valid.

Ah the same time, we must not conceal the fact that there are a wide range of negative effects as well. I would mention, in the first place, industry's well-known manpower problems. Undoubtedly, in the majority of plants, productivity measured on an international scale is low, that is, the staff is large compared to achievements. Therefore, there is a need in the future for a deliberate cut in personnel based primarily on increased productivity. The problem is that manpower shifts today occur spontaneously, and this effects also the work discipline and work intensity of those left behind, and this is reflected mainly in a dangerous deterioration of quality. We are witnessing a degradation of previously world-standard production levels and their growing deterioration, for instance, in smelting, forging, the production of machines for energetics, the railroad vehicle industry, and many areas of the textile industry. In many once famous plants, which are well-equipped today, too, expensive, high-productivity machines cannot be exploited even for one shift because of the lack of manpower. For instance, the staff of the Ganz-Mavag plant decreased 3 percent in 10 years and that of the Csepel Iron Works 46.8 percent. Even such large spontaneous staff cuts would not necessarily be detrimental if the flow were to areas of higher efficiency. However, I am not at all sure of this since, because of the inadequacy of compulsion for achievement in many places, it is possible to earn more with less work and less effectiveness for the people's economy. The equilibrium in the manpower market cannot be brought about only by measures within industry, because only slightly more than one-third of the employees are working in industry.

Among the negative effects, I would mention the scanty development possibilities due to the slower increase of the economy and the burden of its debts. Investments in the processing industry have slowed down to such an extent that the current situation is already threatening the further increase in exports and maintenance of competitiveness. Getting out of this "vicious circle" is possible only through manysided efforts and more consistent assertion of our economic policy tasks. I am thinking, first of all, of an acceleration in regrouping capital. Low-efficiency enterprises should not expand activity that results in loss through their development resources, but should invest in other more profitable areas of the people's economy. There is also a need for unused machines to be sold or rented to those who can operate them; to transfer them, for instance, to enterprises or industrial or agricultural cooperatives that are operating in areas with a manpower surplus.

In this way, by deliberately setting priorities, the smaller amounts of money available could be employed much more rationally, adapting more systematically to the requirements of industrial policy. Let there be no mistake, the enforcement of industrial policy does not mean, in the first place, approbation of investment preferences, but that, from among profitable investments, we grant credits only for those investments that fit into the main directions of industrial policy. However, this selection does not prevail at the moment.

Analyzing the negative effects, one cannot fail to mention the imperfections of our regulation system. I would liken our present regulation system to road systems in new settlements, where systems of interlinking roads at right angles to each other are nicely built, but where people walk, nevertheless, in the manner best suited to their purposes, "as the crow flies." In the economy, I regard these as escape hatches. In this vein, those in charge put stepping stones on the beaten track, so that everyone does not become covered with mud, or possibly build additional sidewalks criss-crossing everywhere. These are the ad hoc regulations and regulator modifications. In the end, a completely disorderly overall picture develops, which must again be generally "ordered." The unsystematic opening up of escape hatches is just as harmful and disorganizing as the irrational bypasses prescribed by the regulation system. All this, together, leads to the present performing capacity of industry, which is even lower than it could and should be.

[Bossanyi] At variance with our endeavors, why are enterprises not interested in rapidly increasing performances?

[Juhasz] Primarily because the prime system commensurate with value, which is destined objectively to measure and put a value on performance, is not functioning well. Prices are the yardstick for performance -- at least, that is the way it should be. However, our price system does not yet fulfill the role of an objective yardstick. This is a complex question, but the essence is that, production costs determine the domestic prices of processed industrial products that are directly exported to the capitalist market -- and, to be sure, these comprise the larger portion of production. That is to say, the principle of "let it cost what it costs" prevails, irrespective of what a product is really worth, of what it could really be sold for on the world market. From the loose price system, the aforementioned contradiction arises that it is possible to achieve a greater profit even with lower performance, profit which is subsequently drawn off again and again by the budget partly to defray its deficiencies and partly to limit purchasing power for investment. Because, domestically, it is generally easier to increase prices than to reduce production costs, continuous price increases have become the major means for increasing profits.

[Bossanyi] The prices of products are decided by the relative scales of supply and demand. To use the example of the machine industry: With the exception of a few general consumer goods, there is no domestic shortage today; indeed, those producing investment goods do not have enough orders and their capacities are not exploited. How is it possible, then, that competition does not develop among enterprises?

[Juhasz] It is usually said that the plan does not compel economic organizations any longer, and the market does not compel them as yet to greater performances and more rational management of costs. It is true, indeed, that market competition would be destined to limit price increases, but, unfortunately, this competition has developed to only a very limited extent for the time being, and the price regulating effects of competition do not come into their own even in areas such as, for instance, the assembly industry and some spheres of the machine industry, where there actually are some free capacities. However, this is not typical of the machine industry. For example, prerequisites for competition are at hand in the furniture industry and shoe production; yet, market conditions that effectively limit prices there fail to develop. The manpower situation, the compulsory limitation of imports, and other reasons, such as, for instance, the market-dampening attitude of commerce, contribute to this. Nonetheless, it is fundamentally the looseness of the present price system that enables economic organizations to evade the value judgment of the market.

[Bossanyi] Don't the organizational changes of the past 1-2 years -- making factory units independent -- stimulate the disposition to compete?

[Juhasz] The way I see it, the development of the organizational system, including a decentralization to a rational degree, though not an on again, off again decentralization, has only a secondary role as compared to the price system. To be sure, the reason for the development of the present truly one-sided enterprise structure was precisely the fact that the lack of compulsion to perform has made it unnecessary for producers to seek additional markets and adopt more flexibly to requirements. In this way, cooperative relations among enterprises have declined, and the extent to which enterprises endeavor to become self-supplying has become irrational. I would note that precisely the lack of compulsion to perform is the reason for the fact that the existing considerable capacity surpluses of enterprises are not used, for instance, for producing goods externally, or for producing machine units and components. This proves, among other things,that without an effective compulsion to perform, increasing the number of producers does not lead to the development of a buyers' market. Indeed, in today's ambiguous situation, a decentralization not thoroughly thought-out could cause a further deterioration of the flexibility of the processing industry, because it would place those dispensing final products even more at the mercy of subcontractors and suppliers able to choose among orders and constantly increasing their prices.

In my opinion, a meaningful competition and one that encompasses not only partial areas of the economy could be attained by the introduction of import competition. However, this cannot be done under conditions of the present equilibrium. Therefore, what would seem to be most useful from the viewpoint of the processing industry would be to apply also in domestic sales the price ceiling prevailing in foreign markets, and only below this would prices be uncontrolled. (Incidentally, this is being discussed also in connection with the development of the regulation system.) The reason I regard this as a central issue is the fact that the price system is the basis of the given regulation system. The entire superstructure of regulation remains unstable if we fail to succeed in making it objective and stricter.

[Bossanyi] Various committees of experts are working on the further development of regulation and macromanagement. In the current phase of preparations, it would be particularly worthwhile to know: What does industry expect from these changes? Inquiry here is justified, because the interactions are very perceptible, and it is rather difficult today to tell whether the productivity of industry is low because regulation does not assert consistently enough the principle of normativeness, or whether the government is compelled to continuous interference because market competitiveness and the adaptability of the majority of economic organizations is low.

[Juhasz] We frequently hear that industry's achievements fall behind those of other areas of the people's economy, that industry's capability for enterprise and adaptation is lower than those of smaller industrial organizations. There is truth in this, but I would like to stress: The achievements of industry, and within it, of large-scale industry, can be objectively assessed only if we enforce equal regulations in every organization dealing with industry, irrespective of size or whether it organizationally belongs to industry or agriculture. Therefore, we expect from the modernization of the regulation system not advantages and one-sided concessions for industry, but that initial prospects for competition and business should be brought close to each other and enable the utilization also in the processing industry of the regulation and encouragement methods which have stood the test well in agriculture, for instance.

FOOD SUPPLY, AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION FORECAST

Food Supply 'Good'

LD101359 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] The effect of the yield lost to drought last year can be felt this year, too. In spite of this, the food industry promises a good and balanced supply for this year. In 1983 the branch produced 240 billion forints' worth of products. According to plans, the value of this year's production will be higher by 1 or 2 percent. This was said by Ferenc Kiss, head of the Food Industry Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food to the MTI correspondent. Apart from securing proper supply for the population, the most important task of the branch is to increase exports, even in deteriorating market conditions, and to contribute to improving the foreign trade balance. The value of investments will be 7.2 billion forints in 1984, too. This will have to be spent for purchasing up-to-date packing machines and increasing storage capacity.

Production To Increase

LD091414 Budapest MTI in English 1026 GMT 9 Jan 84

[Text] Budapest, January 9 (MTI) -- This year the value of Hungarian agricultural production is expected to increase by 4 per cent.

Crop production is planned to grow by 9.8 per cent with an 11.2 per cent increase in field crops, 15 per cent in vegetables, 4.7 per cent in grapes and 4.4 per cent in fruit.

Cereals will be grown on 2.9 million hectares, representing 62 per cent of all arable land, including 1.16 hectares of maize, 5 per cent more than last year. The total cereals yield is expected to be 15 million tons.

To meet sugar requirements by domestic production, sugar beet is to be produced on 115 hectares. The area where oil-seeds are grown is to increase by 1.5 per cent and production by 8-9 per cent.

Livestock is to be kept at its present level. The aim in cattle-breeding is a rapid increase of animals kept for meat, maintenance of the milking stock and improvement of specific milk outputs. Last year's pork production of 1.3 million tons is expected to be maintained this year too.

ABUSE OF POWER BY OFFICIALS CAUSES 'MORAL DAMAGE'

AU101403 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 5 January on page 3 carries an 1,100-word Denes Maros article, entitled "With an Identical Yardstick." The article focuses on the assertion that the MSZMP's "organization statutes and the party's norms are applicable to everyone, and not even a leading position and elected function exempt their violators."

The article deals at length with the moral damage caused by any abuse of power and obtainment of unlawful gains by party members in responsible positions, including some people's reaction that "such things can happen only under this system." It blames the public mentality for "tolerating certain irregularities" and "human frailty" as one of the reasons for some people's going astray. It stresses, nevertheless, that behavior in contravention of the public interest will not remain undetected and unpunished. The only form of the abuse of power specifically noted by the article is "apartment manipulation."

WIEJACZ, URBAN HOLD WEEKLY NEWS CONFERENCE

LD101642 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] Warsaw 10 Jan -- The success of the Stockholm conference is not guaranteed beforehand, but it will depend on the departure of NATO states from the policy of confrontation, on their goodwill in seeking solutions that would answer the interests of all sides and on the realism of proposals, said Polish Deputy Foriegn Minister Jozef Wiejacz during Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban's weekly news conference arranged for foreign journalists at Warsaw's INTERPRESS centre today.

Deputy Foreign Minister Wiejacz said that, apart from taking an active part in the Stockholm conference, the Polish foreign minister would hold a number of bilateral meetings, including one with his West German counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Answering a question about Alois Mertes' Bundestag statement on the existence of an alleged German minority in Poland, the Polish deputy foreign minister described that remark as "an unexampled manifestation of revisionism" and branded as "pure fantasy" the thesis contained in [words indistinct] alleging the existence of a one-million-strong German minority in Poland. He added that such statements made by officials undermine the credibility of Bonn's intentions to normalize relations with Poland on the basis of the 1970 treaty.

Asked about Poland's readiness to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican, in connection with the recent meeting between Premier Jaruzelski and Primate Glemp, Deputy Foreign Minister Jozef Wiejacz replied: "Our relations with the Vatican are developing favourably under the present formula, which does not mean that we do not imagine going further under the present formula or that we do not imagine a (?new) formula -- that is the establishment of full diplomatic relations."

Wiejacz on FRG, Vatican

LD102227 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Excerpt] Minister Jerzy Urban held a press conference in Warsaw today for foreign correspondents. Deputy Foreign Minister Jozef Wiejacz was present at the conference. Marek Kassa has prepared a short report on the conference:

Today's meeting opened with Minister Jozef Wiejacz presenting issues connected with the conference on confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe which is to start in Stockholm on 17 January. Subsequently, Ministers Jerzy Urban and Jozef Wiejacz answered questions from the hall. One of the first concerned Polish-FRG relations in light of the provocative statement issued by FRG Deputy Foreign Minister Mertes.

[Begin Wiejacz recording] We are receiving various signals from Bonn with interest, including in particular the signals on improving relations with Poland on the basis of observance of the 1970 agreement on foundations for normalization. However, at the same time, signals of a different nature are also reaching us. This second group of signals includes the statement by Mertes, which we deem to be an unprecedented example of territorial and political revanchism. Each occurrence of this kind adversely affects mutual relations. [end recording]

Subsequently, he was asked whether the Polish Government envisages full normalization of diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

[Begin Wiejacz recording] Last year, in January, the foreign minister presented a thesis in his Sejm speech on the readiness for full normalization of relations between Poland and the Vatican, including the establishment of diplomatic relations. Our relations with the Vatican are developing positively within the present formula, which does not mean that we cannot envisage a situation in which we could go further, either within the framework of the existing formula or within a changed formula, including establishing full diplomatic relations. [end recording]

Wiejacz on Stockholm Conference

LD102054 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Jan 84

["Excerpts" of statement by Deputy Foreign Minister Jozef Wiejacz at a 10 January meeting with foreign correspondents at Warsaw's INTERPRESS center -- recorded]

[Text] In one week, on 17 January, the conference on confidence and security building measures and disarmament in Europe will start in Stockholm. The fact that it is taking place is a direct result of the decisions of the final document which, as is well known, was adopted in Madrid. Assessing positively the results of the Madrid meeting and the decisions contained in that document, we have repeatedly stated that the document is vital and well balanced. One of the premises for such an assessment is the fact that the process of cooperation and security in Europe has not been extended to a great enough degree in the military sphere. The decision to convene the conference on confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe will help to rectify this.

I would like to take this opportunity to recall Poland's active stance and our numerous initiatives with regard to liquidating the sources of international conflicts, strengthening world security and in Europe in particular. I would like to recall in particular Rapacki's 1957 plan, the 1963 proposal on freezing nuclear arms in central Europe, a suggestion put forward in 1964 at the 14th United Nations General Assembly session to organize a European security conference, and also a proposal submitted in 1980 to convene a Warsaw conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. It is known to everybody that the international situation has dangerously deteriorated.

The Polish Government and people have voiced their concern over this deterioration. In this context, I would like to recall that this was also expressed recently by Catholic Church Primate Glemp following his conversation with General Jaruzelski.

In our opinion, the policy of confronting of the current U.S. Administration is continuing. It aims at changing the balance of forces in the world, at achieving military supremacy. One particularly dangerous phenomenon is that the bases for constructive dialogue and the disarmament are being undermined and a quantitatively and qualitatively new stage is being imposed on the world. It also questions the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and thus the current peaceful territorial and political order in Europe.

The beginning of the installation of new U.S. nuclear weapons on the territory of West European states, including the FRG, is particularly significant. Responsibility for creating the current situation, which carries the threat of nuclear catastrophe, rests in full on the United States and the European members of NATO, particularly the FRG. The Polish Government has expressed its complete understanding of and solidarity with the 24 November statement of Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and with the political and defense decisions made by the Governments of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia.

We also welcome with satisfaction the readiness of the Soviet Union to return to the proposals announced by the Soviet side on the issue of limiting and reducing armaments should the United States and the other NATO states show a readiness to return to the situation existing before the beginning of the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe.

This is a firm response, one which at the same time gives a chance for the future. Stressing our good will in connection with the conference in Stockholm, we must, however, clearly state that the success of the Stockholm conference is not guaranteed in advance and will depend above all on the following factors: First, the NATO must end their policy of confrontation and must give up attempts to disturb the existing balance of power, second, they must show good will and a genuine desire to seek solutions, and take into consideration to an equal degree the security interests of all, and must refrain from striving to achieve unilateral advantages; and finally they must understand the realism of the proposals. The proposals put forward must reflect the state of relations between East and West.

In accordance with the agreements reached during the preparatory meeting held in Helsinki, between 25 October and 11 November 1983, the meeting agenda envisages the formal opening of the conference; speeches by representatives of the participating states; presentation, negotiation, and approval by groups of mutually complementary means of building confidence and security together with agreed forms and procedures for bringing them into force.

Now, the actions relating to the conclusion of the first stage of the conference. It is expected that as the second point on the agenda, the foreign ministers of the majority of those states taking part in the conference will make speeches. Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski plans to participate in the opening phase of the conference. It is envisaged that the Polish foreign minister will speak at the plenary session and that there will be a series of bilateral meetings.

The 1984 conference will take place in four sessions, the first from 17 January to 16 March; the next from 8 May to 6 July; the next from 11 September to 12 October; and then from 6 November to 14 December.

The Polish delegation will depart for Stockholm with good will and a constructive attitude toward implementing the mandate of the conference drawn up in Madrid. The basis for our activity will be the broad program for building confidence and security in Europe contained in the specific proposals found in the declaration of the Advisory Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty States last January, and in the Moscow statement of the leaders of seven socialist states of last June.

An important place in this program is occupied by the proposal to enter into an agreement between member states of the Warsaw Pact with NATO on the mutual nonuse of military force and on maintaining peaceful relations. We hope that all states participating in the conference will show active realism and good will. In particular, we expect the traditional activity by neutral and nonaligned states, including Sweden, the host of the conference, and hope that they will look for solutions that will ensure the success of the conference.

Urban on TU's, Price Hikes

LD102107 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Excerpts] Jozef Wiejacz, the deputy foreign minister, and Jerzy Urban, the government spokesman, have met with foreign correspondents. Taking the floor, Jozef Wiejacz spoke about the conference of confidence building and security measures and disarmament which will start on 17 January in Stockholm.

In the second part of the conference, Jerzy Urban answered journalists' questions. He stated among other things that the Katowice meeting of the chairmen of 13 trade union federations is the first step in forming their common representation.

Answering a question on when the Price Bureau, after the consultations which have recently been completed, will present its final proposals on prices changes, the government spokesman announced that they will shortly be presented to the Council of Ministers.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY ON JARUZELSKI-GLEMP TALKS

AU101738 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Jan 84 pp 1, 2

[Commentary signed "(Z. M.)"]

[Text] There has been another meeting between the head of the government and the head of the Catholic Church in our country, the first one in 1984 and the eighth one since General Wojciech Jaruzelski assumed the leadership of the government. So one can speak about periodic contacts which are already a feature of state-Church relations.

The previous meeting was on 6 June last year, almost 7 months ago. Here we do not include the occasional meetings that took place during Pope John Paul II's visit to our country.

Yesterday, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski and Cardinal Jozef Glemp spoke longer than ever before -- 5 hours. During this time, the host offered his guest dinner, during which the exchange of views continued.

According to the communique, the talks were not limited to an assessment of last year's events and to problems in Church-state relations.

The communique also speaks about an "exchange of views on the current situation in Poland in light of current international tensions." This statement implies that there is a direct connection between the development of the situation in Poland and the world situation. Obvious conclusions emerge from this connection for all citizens, whether they are believers or nonbelievers. I mean above all Poland's role in Europe and the world. This may be, and has been recently, an unstable role and a crisis-ridden one, a role weakening those forces in Western Europe and in the United States whose goal has been and still is disarmament, detente, and a dialogue that builds mutual trust. It may also be a constructive role aimed at easing tensions, initiating or encouraging dialogue on a European or world scale, counteracting armament, and depriving the adherents of a nuclear-missile policy of a position of strength in their arguments.

Only a well-governed and calm Poland may play this constructive and peaceful role, a Poland consolidating in this way its rightful place among the family of nations of Europe and the world in accordance with its good traditions and aspirations and on the basis of the exceedingly dramatic events of its most recent history.

This, we believe, is the political and at the same time moral significance of this important event.

For the sake of journalistic honesty, it is also necessary to mention another conclusion emerging from the meeting: The meeting finally and irrevocably refutes all statements, suggestions, and impious desires, that directly expressed or implied that there is "a drastic growth in tension between the state and the Church," or that "mutural relations have deteriorated" and which expressed hope that domestic tension in our country will rise.

It is no longer really necessary to refute the above statements because their emptiness has been clear for a long time. It is enough to recall the recent communique from the meeting of the joint government and Episcopate commission which spoke about a normal development of relations between the state and the Church.

MARGUERITTE ANALYZES GLEMP-JARUZELSKI TALKS

PM110912 Paris LE FIGARO in French 9 Jan 84 p 4

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Glemp-Jaruzelski: Joint Action for Peace"]

[Text] Warsaw-- It is always dangerous to use fine words. However, the information I have received over the past few days indicates that last Thursday's meeting between General Jaruzelski and Cardinal Glemp had more historic importance than was originally thought, both regarding Polish affairs and at an international level.

Indeed, I am in a position to state that, continuing the Vatican's effort and enriching it with his personal contribution, the Polish primate proposed to Gen Jaruzelski no less than that the Church and state take combined action in this country to safeguard peace. The aim is to help the Holy Father play his role of intermediary between West and East by creating a chain of good offices linking the Vatican, the Polish primate, Gen Jaruzelski, and the Kremlin.

In these conditions, internal Polish affairs are superseded and the obstacle they pose is, in a way, overcome. The key sentence in Thursday's communique was, moreover, the one in which the two sides revealed that the situation in the country had been discussed "in the context of current international tensions."

In a speech delivered Friday evening, Cardinal Glemp made things quite clear by devoting it entirely to the problem of peace. He even went so far as to condemn the deployment of the Euromissiles in Germany and Britain, regretting that "some European countries with ancient Christian cultures are now bristling with death-dealing missiles." These arms are "immoral, totally unethical, and a crime against God and man." "The Church," the primate added, "will try to make its contribution to healing the divisions and tensions in the world...The Church in Poland joins particularly in mankind's aspiration for real peace." In reply to his critics, Cardinal Glemp said that his effort to achieve that "is often regarded as weakness and resignation, whereas it is an extraordinarily difficult task requiring courage but leading to victory."

Casaroli's Role

Thursday's communique stated that "as a country which suffered particularly badly in World War II, Poland has special reasons for working to safeguard world peace, to which the continued development of contacts between the authorities of the People's Republic of Poland and the Holy See can contribute." Indeed the primate's initiatives are in complete harmony with the Vatican's efforts, which are being stepped up on the eve of the 17 January Stockholm conference.

Is there any need to recall here that Secretary of State Casaroli met with Ronald Reagan in November, that on 2 December John Paul II received the Czechoslovak foreign minister, that Cardinal Casaroli received a visit from the Soviet ambassador in Rome on 17 December, and that there is now talk of a forthcoming visit to Moscow by Monsignor Poggi or even by the Polish primate himself?

However, it is obvious that in giving Gen Jaruzelski the opportunity to participate with him in safeguarding peace, Cardinal Glemp is prepared to skirt round the obstacle of internal problems but not to forget them.

It goes without saying that joint action by the head of state and the Catholic hierarchy can only be envisaged if the problem of political prisoners is solved. The Church is demanding the release of all, including -- at least provisionally -- the 11 dissident leaders. It is only when they are free that it pledges to exert pressure on them to accept various foreign invitations or abandon all political activity.

That proposal is difficult to accept both for the Kremlin and for Gen Jaruzelski, and even for the prisoners themselves, but the primate's skill lies in the fact that he is offering everybody overall objectives which are sufficiently attractive to overcome the reservations they have on particular points.

Increased Credibility

Indeed, this plan drawn up by Monsignor Glemp for action by the Church and state to work together between the Vatican and Moscow to promote peace has drawbacks and advantages for each of the parties concerned:

-- For Gen Jaruzelski, the drawback lies essentially in the reaction of the party "hardliners" in Warsaw and Moscow to the release of the political prisoners and in the fact that new power is given to the Church in the country.

On the other hand, the advantages are considerable:

1 -- The possibility of winning international credibility as a peace fighter and thus of no longer being a leader condemned by the community of nations.

2 -- Restoring Poland's traditional role between East and West.

3 -- The guarantee provided by the Church of a social and political truce within the country since, as the primate said, Poland must under no circumstances spark off a world conflict.

Cardinal Glemp can thus considerably strengthen the Church's role in Poland, to the extent of giving it an unbelievable role in a socialist country and becoming the government's real partner. In addition, he can make a decisive contribution to the struggle for peace and, finally, secure the release of the political prisoners. On the other hand, despite this result, there is a risk that he will be accused of abandoning the democratic opposition's cause for other objectives. It is true that the primate's political wisdom and moderation are now justified because it is they which now enable him to play this decisive role at an international level.

-- For the opposition in the country, the only advantage is that of seeing all its members released. On the other hand, cooperation between the primate and the general greatly weakens its position and forces it to observe a political and social truce in its struggle. It is true that it has little choice because the cardinal can assert that any other attitude would be a blow to world peace and would prevent the release of the political prisoners.

-- The Kremlin would be bound to be pleased to see the Vatican and the Church join its own "peace offensive," which would deal a severe blow to President Reagan's policy and to the advocates of the arms race. The price to be paid -- a more important role for the Church in a socialist country and on the international stage and the release of the political prisoners in Warsaw -- may seem small.

JABLONSKI NEW YEAR SPEECH VIEWS POSTWAR PROGRESS

LD101904 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 31 Dec 83

[New Year address by Professor Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council -- recorded; date and place not specified]

[Text] Fellow countrymen, citizens of the Polish People's Republic. It is not for the first that I stand before you on New Year's Eve. Invariably, when I am thinking about what to tell you, the heart dictates cheerful words that will not disturb the holiday mood at the moment of wishes and hopes. But do I have the right to confine myself only to them today when we bid farewell to the old year which has not been free from many personal concerns and which was full of anxieties and fears aroused by the current international situation?

We are all aware of growing tensions, but is each of us aware of what this gamble, so dangerous for all humanity, is being played for? Do all of us clearly see that none of us can be excluded from this game?

The deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe means an inevitable arms race. The arms race means a constant threat of war, as historical experiences have proved many times. What we need, like air to breathe, is [word indistinct] in our own home and in the world, detente in international relations, and cooperation among all states, irrespective of their sociopolitical systems.

Let me then, dear compatriots, address the first New Year's greetings to all fighters for peace, irrespective of where or in what country they live or what language they speak. They are allies in our concern for the destinies of our dear ones, our children, and grandchildren. They are allies in our daily toil, helping us carry out the immensity of the tasks we face. Wishing them the greatest effectiveness of their efforts, we convey at the same time the same wishes to ourselves, for since the dawn of our regained statehood, we recognize the basic assumption of our foreign policy to be the peaceful coexistence of free and sovereign countries of the whole world.

People's Poland was born in the most difficult conditions imaginable. Exactly 40 years ago, on a New Year's Eve like this, the National People's Council [KRN] was formed, according to its statute, as the temporary political representation of the nation and at the same time the supreme organ of authority. It set itself the main and supreme task of uniting and mobilizing all the nation's forces and means for a fight to the death against the bestial occupier, having as its aim the liberation of Poland.

Those words in the KRN declaration indicated immediate tasks for Polish patriots, and at the same time mapped out its long-term political and social program. Its main precepts said that in liberated Poland, social justice must reign. Working people must obtain full democratic rights, and take over the role of hosts in the reborn state.

To this end, essential social reforms were needed -- reconstruction of destroyed towns and villages, management of regained territories, reconstruction of ruined transportation systems and industry. Lasting peace was necessary to develop Poland further and to implement the set tasks. This was to be ensured by cooperation with all states, primarily the alliance with the Soviet Union. Thus was born the operation program of the republic's authorities after the liberation of the country which, in its main ideological provisions, remains current today.

Some of my esteemed listeners, particularly these young ones, may ask: Why in a New Year's message are there these anniversary recollections? The reason is simple, and I do not doubt that I an well understood by all those who lived in those distant times.

When the excess of everyday worries evoke fatigue, when the stormy experiences of the recent years have left in many hearts and minds traces of disappointment, uncertainty, and sometimes maybe also doubt, it is difficult to objectively define the place in which we find ourselves today and to spot the prospects for the future. It is a good thing to realize where one came from and what the targets were we set for ourselves at the beginning of the road, and which part of it we have managed to cover. Even the list of the targets set by the KRN suffices to show beyond any doubt that very many of them have been put into effect, deciding the whole, further, Polish historical process. The others are lasting tasks, demanding that we bear them in mind ceaselessly and that we should consistently endeavor to implement them ever more fully.

It is not my objective to draw up a balance sheet of the past 4 decades but, dear compatriots, I would like to draw your attention to two phenomena. Deep differences divided our socity during the war but regarding what was then the most important task -- the need to wage the liberation struggle -- the bearing of the broadest masses of the nation was harmonious. The first years after independence was regained were difficult and did not lack painful experiences. Never, right up to today, have we been faced with such difficulties as then, but the universal conviction has won out that, irrespective of all that is divisive, it is necessary to embark on a great joint effort and to build a new life from the ruins. An eloquent example of this stance was the reconstruction of Warsaw. As a city, it virtually ceased to exist. Hardly anyone, except we Poles, believed that it could be revived. Nevertheless, it rose more beautiful than in the past. The term "the Warsaw pace," today obsolete, was then born. The slogan "The whole nation is rebuilding its capital," was not phraseology since it was the most evident truth.

It was the same with the reconstruction of industry, agriculture, and transportation; with ensuring elementary health protection and removing the danger of epidemics, and with setting up schools and cultural institutions. The historic decision was made to eliminate the shameful heritage of the past: illiteracy. Is it fitting to forget that the entire nation took part in that great campaign? It is hard to recall unemotionally that efficient pooling of efforts, that comprehension that there were matters 100 times more important than all past or even current differences.

The working people at that time passed the examination of patriotism and practical wisdom with honors. Let us bow our heads before them and let us give warm New Year wishes to those fighters for the liberation of the homeland who are still with us; to all, regardless of the unit in which they served, of the name of their organization, or what differences they once had with each other. All of them, according to their discernment and conscience, fought for their freedom and the freedom of generations of Poles to come. Let us give wishes to labor veterans. They, with the toil of their hands and minds, built our common home: the independent, sovereign republic. They created its material and spiritual strength. It is to them, too, to their selfless work, to their ability to unite their personal fate with the interests of society as a whole that we owe the profound inculcation of the idea of socialism in our national psyche, the system of values which guides the great majority of Poles. On their achievements, we can base our contmeporary aspirations so that the ideals of social justice and true socialist democracy, concern for full development of each individual [words indistinct] has taken on the shape of socialist renewal, so clearly defined by the ninth extraordinary party congress [passage indistinct]. Only through accord on the most important issues for the nation, only by common effort, and good productive work will we be able to improve our common and individual fate.

This attitude was shown results. Thanks to the calming of emotions which disturbed the social order, we were able to lift martial law. Ever more efficiently we have eradicated inefficiencies in the functioning of the administrative apparatus. Despite great difficulties, despite restrictions applied by unfriendly states, our economy has been on the upswing. Process is still not as we would like and is still insufficient.

Life for poorly-paid families is hard, but the way toward improvement has been verified, and if we persevere [words indistinct]. We have large creative potential at our disposal. However, we do not exploit it properly. In order to alter this, there must be great mobilization of energy and inventiveness, better organization, and better and more successful introduction of scientific achievements. There is a need to unify all Polish patriots in their work for the common good.

We turn today with gratitude toward our friends. We highly appreciate aid from socialist countries, particularly from the Soviet Union. However, first we must count on our own forces. Our future mainly depends on us [words indistinct] citizens who recognize the truth and have demonstrated by deed [words indistinct] workers of health services and education, science and culture, from all branches of the economy. I convey warm words of thanks. Let your work bring improved results so that the life of every Polish family can become easier, so that those who are the mainstay of the family, our wives and mothers, can view tomorrow with growing optimism. I address to them thoughts full of openheartedness and recognition of their daily toil to bring up their children. I would like those citizens who are beginning their independent life in a time of crisis to look more brightly toward the future. We can already see a way out of (?the crisis). This creates particular opportunities for young people as yet untainted by bitterness, with ambitions to leave their own personal mark on the current of socialist transformation.

I send particularly heartfelt greetings to those serving in the armed forces [words indistinct].

Dear compatriots, on the eve of a New Year which brings with it so much hope and so much work, let us wish each other peace in the (?world), calm, and an increasingly complete implementation of the principles of social justice in the homeland, and increased serenity in every Polish home.

TU I TERAZ ARTICLE EXAMINES RUSSIA'S CHAADAYEV

AU101337 Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish 14 Dec 83 pp 3, 4

[Krystyna Chojnacka article: "About Petr Chaadayev -- Conservative at the Service of the Revolution" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] HOW IS IT POSSIBLE THAT A CONSERVATIVE, A PARTISAN OF THE OLD REGIME, A THINKER WHO IN THE SECOND QUARTER OF THE 19TH CENTURY VIEWED EUROPE OF THE MIDDLE AGES WHEN IT WAS UNDER THE POPE'S UNIVERSAL SUPREMACY AS A SOCIAL IDEAL, A PUPIL OF THE FRENCH TRADITIONALISTS, AND AN INDEFATIGABLE CHAMPION OF AN UNCHANGEABLE HIERARCHY OF SOCIETY WAS JUDGED TO BE A DANGEROUS REVOLUTIONARY? HOW COULD THIS HAVE HAPPENED AND, ABOVE ALL, WHERE?

There can be only one answer to this question: In a despotic state, that is, in a state that is dominated by a single theory -- an article of faith -- which justifies the legality and perfection of the ruling system and with regard to which no special attempts are made to shore up its justification. This is because it is far more effective to protect it by 12 censorship offices, an extensive police and gendarmerie apparatus, and the universal system of spying upon citizens. The Russia ruled by Nicholas I was a classic example of such a state. The existence of the people who under such conditions did not cease to proclaim their own views is a phenomenon of the vitality of man's ideas. This sounds optimistic, but let us bear in mind that Gogol, who burnt the second volume of his "Dead Souls," Pushkin and Bakunin, the Decembrists who confessed to the tsar, and Chaadayev, who reneged on his views and in his letter to the chief gendarme called the tsar a man "God charged with the task of saving the social order of Europe," are the sons of the same fatherland and power apparatus. There were many such sons.

This article is devoted to P. Chaadayev. This unusual figure and bold and original thinker, but weak man, was a concentration of all the good and bad features of the intellectual gentry in the era of Nicholas I. Chaadayev is relatively little known in our country because Andrzej Walicki's brilliant specialist essays unfortunately have a small circle of readers. It goes without saying that I will not discuss in this article all the riches of Chaadayev's philosophy. What I rather intend to do is to discuss the fate of an intellectual in the state of the tsars.

Thoughtlessness Worthy of a Madman

A new period of Chaadayev's life begins in 1823 -- a period that we can call a "catastrophic" period and that was preceded by his earlier detachment from social life, devotion to intellectual work, an increase in religious feelings, and a fascination with Catholicism (which was not exceptional among the higher classes in the Russia of those days). During that period, Chaadayev traveled abroad where he engaged in the thorough study of philosophy. What is especially interesting are his studies of German philosophy -- Kant and Hegel -- and his personal acquaintance with Schelling, which later produced a plentiful correspondence. When he returned to Moscow to the post-Decembrist conditions of reaction, he continued his further work in isolation. The old friends no longer found a common language. ..."The higher Russian classes of that time continued to clearly decline and to become increasingly base and sycophantic from the time Nicholas mounted the throne. The aristocratic independence and the boldness characteristic of a Guards officer from the time of Aleksandr disappeared after 1826," Herzen wrote.

The eight "Philosophical Letters," of which the first was the only one that was published during the author's life, were the product of those years. That first letter was precisely Herzen's "shot in the darkness of the night" and was devoted to Russia and its place in the history of mankind's development. The substance of that letter, which will be presented below, is a justification for calling that period in the thinker's life a "catastrophic" period.

Chaadayev returned to worldly life in 1831 and threw open the doors of his house to guests. The recent recluse again became a brilliant star of the English Club and the drawing rooms, and the copies of his writings made rounds among society for some time. These writings reached the wider circles of the public in 1836 when the first "Philosophical Letter" was published in the TELESKOP periodical. The power apparatus reacted immediately to this publication. TELESKOP was closed, its publisher Nadezhdin banished, and the censor Boldyriev, who was professor and rector of Moscow University, was forced to resign. The remaining copies of TELESKOP were ordered to be destroyed and all Chaadayev's papers confiscated. Chaadayev himself was declared mad. The tsar himself confirmed this verdict: "Having read the article in question, I find that its content is a mixture of impudent thoughtlessness worthy of a madman. This is what we unfailingly recognize...." The readers' reaction was just as immediate. According to the testimony of Ivan Panayev, a writer and publisher alive at that time, interest in the article published in Issue 15 of TELESKOP was displayed even by those "who have never before read such serious articles. It was soon impossible to obtain that issue of the periodical.... The issue was snatched up and Chaadayev's article began to be circulated in a large number of hand-written copies."

Under Supervision

I will call the third period of Chaadyev's life a period of "madness." He was declared mad and subjected to supervision by doctors and police. In 1837 he wrote "An Apology of a Madman" in which he softened [lagodzil] his views expressed in that "Philosophical Letter."

We also know from the reports written by the chief gendarme that Chaadayev did admit his madness and that when he listened to the verdict of the power apparatus on his case, he kept repeating in a broken voice: "Correct, absolutely correct." Calling that period of Chaadayev's life a period of "madness," I am interested in how the fact of the official declaration that he was mentally disabled influenced Chaadayev himself and affected the attitude of people toward him.

What is the function of a mad philosopher in a state of a despot? Let us once again cite Herzen, who described the phenomenon of Chaadayev. Deprived of riches, influence, posts, and connections, he played an unusual role in the drawing rooms. Strange and capricious, the author of a number of extremely incisive observations and commentaries addressed to the highest dignitaries, a careful observer, and a caustic expert in irony, he enjoyed unchangeable popularity. "Knowing him could have only compromised one in the eyes of the police, which was the government. Why then his influence?" Herzen asked. "Why was it that the 'aces' from the English Club and the patricians from the Tver Boulevard continued to crowd Chaadayev's modest room? Why was it that the cell of the somber thinker was visited by fashionable ladies? Why was it that generals, who had no idea about civilian matters, deemed it their duty to make visits, to clumsily pretend to be educated, and to boast later on, twisting some words said to them by Chaadayev?" Let us add that usually these words were not very flattering.

Herzen's answer to these questions contains an extremely crucial observation. We read: "What is important in this connection is the involuntary awareness that thought has become might and has taken its place of honor contrary to the highest order. The 'mad' power of Nicholas Pavlovich [the tsar] decreased to the same extent to which the power of the "mad" cavalry Captain Chaadayev was acknowledged." He played this role without fail.

Aside from the fact, noted by Herzen, that it was possible to compare free thoughts with the strength of a despot and aside from the mental shock experienced by the Russian reading public which, despite the substantive charges against the "Letter," decided -- a part of it -- to declare its solidarity with the "mad" cavalry captain and to make him "fashionable," it was also important -- perhaps above all important -- that the "Letter" provoked a considerable intellectual ferment and helped to formulate many new ideas, including the idea of Slavophilism, for example. This was a sign for the opposition circles, and Herzen called it a "shot." "Yes, it is true that Herzen, without finding out who had shot at whom, realized immediately that the shot was given by an ally and was aimed at the common enemy. What they had in common was the mood, pain, and reproaches and nothing else." This is the comment of Chaadayev's biographer. In this way, the ideas of Chaadayev, who was a conservative, were turned into a slogan for the leftwing opposition. Never since the publication of the first "Letter" was there in Russia a stream of social thought that did not try to answer the questions posed by Chaadayev.

However, it would be an error to think that readers applauded the "Philosophical Letter" and understood its theses. It is true that after he was no longer supervised, Chaadayev remained a fashionable person. The "Letter" was read by everyone and all of society discussed it, but only a few people, including Aleksandr Herzen, saw Chaadayev's work as a symptom of far-reaching social change. However, there was probably no one in Russia who would openly admit to sympathy with the "Letter." Chaadayev was generally condemned. One time it would be Russia and its traditions and another time Orthodox religion that would be defended against Chaadayev. He was denied the right to proclaim such iconoclastic views. The reaction of the champions of the official doctrine and of the ideologues of the burgeoning Slavophilism was especailly strong. On the one hand, Chaadayev became the conscience of his era, a spiritual leader of the progressive sections of the gentry, and a man of supreme stature on whom the highest moral qualities were bestowed ("He would have been a Brutus in Rome and a Pericles in Athens, but here is is a Hussar on the tsar's orders," Pushkin wrote). On the other hand, most readers acclaimed him as a traitor to the fatherland and the Orthodox religion and as a man who trampled upon Russia's most sacred things.

"There was not enough Siberia, nor enough mines and whips in all of Russia to punish the man who betrayed his God and his country. Petersburg and holy Moscow were aflame." Count Astolf Custine, a French traveler who visited Russia 3 years after the publication of the "Letter," wrote.

Chaadayev turned out to be a weak man. He was always a weak man. During the period when he fell from grace, his fear of the omnipotence of the tsar and his apparatus increased. How different is the Chaadayev who is the hero of the police reports from the Chaadayev who is a proud aristocarat in Herzen's memoirs. In his original work, Lemke cites Chaadayev's sycophantic letters to the chief of the secret police, which concern his efforts to obtain employment as a civil servant, and the reports on the interrogations during which Chaadayev made accusations against the publisher of TELESKOP and denied that he, Chaadayev, had wanted to publish his "Letter." We know Chaadayev's reaction to having been declared mad. He also dissociated himself on his own initiative and in a very unpleasant manner from the views of Panovaya, a fictional woman addressee of the "Letter," who couragously professed these views during interrogation. They were republican views, ones that expressed solidarity with the Polish insurgents [probably the 1831 insurgents]. In the end, also on his own initiative, Chaadayev violently dissociated himself from Herzen's works on emigration, which dealt with the matter of the "Philosophical Letter."

Without a Youthful Phase

The main problem in Chaadayev's thinking was on Russia's chances of belonging to an integrated world of humanity. The forecasts for this contained in the "Letters" are mainly pessimistic. A slave state where the Orthodox Church supports slavery and a country without faith, without the religious institutions of real Christianity, and without traditions, history, and common human ideas has no chance of taking its place among the countries of the world.

For Russia is and was a country outside the mainstream of the development of both Eastern and Western civilization. Russia has no traditions. The primary effect of this is that Russia lacks what may be found in "well-organized life." It lacks "those conscious habits that cause vivacity of mind and that lend symmetry to the spiritual life of man." A Russian is a wanderer. This is an oft-repeated theme in the literature and documents concerning the 1840's. Some see this theme as the universal quality of the "Russian soul," so much so that we come across it later in the works of Chekhov, Gorkiy, Bunin, Merezhkovskiy, Trifonov, and Okudzhava, who are certainly not the only authors. For Chaadayev, wandering, which is common to all nations during their youth, has nothing to do with the Russian version of wandering because Russia has never experienced youth. Deprived of traditions, Russia is living in the present. It does not possess a phase of youth and is without "ideas passed down from one generation to the next by the whole of mankind." The only thing that could change this state of affairs, and which is of course unfeasible, is Russia's passing through all the stages that the world already left behind it.

Demonstrating his country's baseness resulting from its failure to participate in the historical process of educating mankind, Chaadayev presents a whole series of bitter reflections on Russia, its history and contemporary picture, its people, and its laws. Having no roots in the European development of civilization, Russia is creating a culture based on borrowing and imitation. Ideas do not develop in a natural way and they seem to be the result of superficial understanding. Therefore, they do not lead to an "internal development and natural progress." Russia's situation as a nation influences individuals. They lack the ethical ideas that children in the West receive during their upbringing: the ideas of duty, justice and law and order. As a result, a person "feels lost in the world because he is not guided by the knowledge of an uninterrupted continuity." In part three of his "Ancestors" -- ["Dziady"] Mickiewicz, who according to Lednick knew the Russian thinker personally, writes in the same way about the Russians as Chaadayev.

Indeed, certain parts of the "Ancestors" (for example... "people's faces are like the country they live in: an empty, open, and level plain. The fire from their hearts, which are like hidden volcanoes, has not yet reached their faces"... and so on) seem like quotations in verse form taken straight out of Chaadayev.

The history of Russia "explains nothing and proves nothing." Peter the Great's social mission failed. Neither did Aleksandr's victory over Napoleon change anything (here the Decembrist uprising receives a negative assessment: "A great misfortune...it has taken us back half a century"). Chaadayev regards Russia's historical development as something beyond history. The submission to Byzantium, the adoption of the Byzantine religion, the Tartar incursions, the despotism of Ivan the Terrible -- all this has separated Russia from Europe. Chaadayev particularly emphasizes the lack of a unifying Christian idea as a moral and social system and the lack of the Church as the foundations of a "glorious system on earth." Such is the picture of Necropolis as painted in 1829 by Petr Chaadayev.

Chaadayev was the first man in Russia's history to clearly express in his "Philosophical Letters" the problem that was to dominate during succeeding decades and that does not cease to inspire discussion today. I mean the problem of Russia's past, its paths of development, and what tasks it is to perform in the world. Chaadayev developed the view that the correct path of development for Russia is different from the one followed by the countries of Europe. It is this very idea that made Chaadayev a thinker of primary importance for the development of Russian thought and made him a man who permitted himself to express further streams of Russian thought, headed by Slavophilia and nationalism.

The difference of Russia's development, expressed in catastophic terms in the "Philosophical Letters," appears next in a different form in his "Apology of a Madman" written in 1837. The ideas contained in the "Apology" are the same as in the Letters." Russia has not taken part in the historical shaping of the world and in building Eastern and Western civilization, and it has in the end been unable to accept any of the ideas lying at the root of these civilizations.

Further on, however, Chaadayev develops his train of thought differently from the way he did in the "Letters." Russia has belonged to Europe and the West since the time of Peter the Great, "the greatest of our monarchs." Peter joined the country to the flow of history and to the development of European ideas. This means that before that time Russia was a blank chart, did not possess its own nature, and adopted a nature from outside with relative ease. "We listened to the monarch calling for a new life for us so submissively because in our old lives there was nothing which could have justified opposition from us." The absolutely necessary chain of historical developments in the West which suit the ideas emerging in the minds of generations -- all this was unavailable to Russia. "It is true that history does not belong to us any more, but science does... we have no power over the past, but the future belongs to us." Russia has been summoned "to settle the majority of social problems, to give the finishing touches to most of the ideas created by past generations, to decide on the most important matters besetting mankind." These ideas, which were not expounded in later years because Chaadayev's thought was still evolving, have not been expressed in concrete terms, mainly because the "Apology" was never finished. Nevertheless, these ideas became the basis for further profound discussion.

A Man of His Time

Toward the end of his life, Chaadayev departed from the views expressed in the "Apology." The direct reason for this was the Spring of the People [the period of uprisings all over Europe in the 1840's] and the attitude of the Russian ruler toward the events taking place. For Chaadayev, this meant the same as the collapse of his conception of Russia and his conception of the role of its rulers.

The European revolution seemed nearer to him (although historians are in disagreement on this). This aristocratic thinker escaped to a form of proclamation written in the populist style in order to explain to the Russian peasants the correctness of the revolution and the reactionary nature of the tsars.

Chaadayev had no chance to publish his views toward the end of his life and expressed them almost exclusively in private correspondence, which gives us no reason to doubt their sincerity this time. During the 7-year reactionary period from 1848 to the death of Nicholas I and the end of the Crimean War, Chaadayev saw the tsarist regime only as it really was -- a brutal force alien to the nation and one suppressing the development of any thought whatsoever in the country. The following aphorism comes from these years: "Socialism will triumph not because it is correct, but because its opponents are wrong."

That is how the evolution of the views of Chaadayev the legitimist on the Russian monarchy ended. In the end, there was a partial return to the ideals of his youth -- the Decembrists.

Summing up: Chaadayev's importance lies not so much in his direct social analyses and forecasts. Instead, Chaadayev the man and his life have gone down in history as a testimony to the times he lived in and as a man who was the first to bring to Russia's attention in such a clear way issues concerning its difference, issues which it was not possible to solve in the future without referring to Chaadayev.

Despite appearances and despite his Europeanness, Chaadayev was one of the most characteristic Russians of his time. He was a "dispensable man" living in a country where a lost individual, deprived of tradition and continuity, will remain attached to his own thought and will find a place for himself by spiritually wandering. As the author of the "Letters," he was the creator of the above phenomenon and at the same time its victim. He subjected Russian "dispensability" to deep analysis without, however, getting near a solution to this problem. Has anyone else ever succeeded in doing so?

Chaadayev's youth still contained a hope expressed by Pushkin in the poem quoted above where Pushkin writes about the day "when the people will carve our names on the ruins of despotism." Herzen juxtaposes these stanzas with others, written not many years later: "Do you remember, Chaadayev, when, full of youthful enthusiasm, I wanted to consign my fatal name to ruins in justified anger? You will find laziness and quiet today in a heart troubled by storm, and I, full of friendship, write our names on a sacred stone."

POLITBURO DISCUSSES RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING YOUTH

LD101958 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] Today the Politburo assessed the state of implementation of the resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee on the affairs of the young. It was stated that many actions are being undertaken with the aim of solving the pressing social, upbringing and welfare problems of the younger generation. While appreciating the progress made so far, the Politburo also presented the weak points that occur in the implementation of the ninth plenum resolution. It was stated that the party attaches great importance to the activity of the socialist youth unions and to their role in preparing the younger generation to perform their civic and patriotic duties, in shaping ideological attitudes, and a sense of joint responsibility for the affairs of the country. The new principles for cadre policy adopted at the Thirteenth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the economic reform create opportunities for the younger generation to fulfill their personal aims and aspirations.

It was stressed that the PZPR is vitally interested in increasing the strength of representation of young workers, farmers, and members of the intelligentsia in the forthcoming elections to the people's councils.

MICHALEK DEFENDS PARTY AT VOIVODSHIP CONFERENCE

AU101756 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jan 84 p 2

[Report on speech given by Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee secretary, at the Zamosc Voivodship PZPR accountability-electoral conference on 5 January]

[Text] We are summing up what is probably the most difficult term of office in our party's history, said Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee secretary, as he took the floor in the discussion. During this term of office, we were dealing with a party that was the same, but not the same. At the Ninth PZPR Congress, we analyzed our errors. We have recently analyzed many errors and spoken very briefly of our successes. At the same time, the PZPR does have successes and the impending 40th anniversary of the PPR gives us the chance to show off our achievements as well.

We are a party that has been through a battle. Today, the party is smaller and if the weak ones and our enemies have left us, then our loss is not great. Quite a few workers and peasants have also left, but our party is a workers' party because it presents the ideas and the interests of the workers class.

Membership of the party does not give privileges. However, it does give us more duties and more responsibility. The responsibility of every party member is necessary in the implementation of the program of the Ninth PZPR Congress. We are implementing this program despite all the difficulties and resistance we face, which we mainly stumble upon in people's mentality. What is it that we, the party and the whole of society, need most today? We need to learn to work well. We would like this year to be a period in which we can break our bad habits and fight against social diseases.

The party's most important action front will be the economy. If we say that the most dramatic time is now behind us and that the most difficult is before us, then we are actually referring to the economy. We have moved forward: The national income has increased, but we are also faced with sanctions and the big calculable losses that they have caused. The economic reform -- that is our chance. The command system has not stood the test and so we should have looked for one that will at least bring the likelihood if not the guarantee of being better. The three "S's" -- Independence, Self-Government, and Self-Financing [Samodzielnosc, Samorzadnosc, Samofinansowanie] -- must be fulfilled and the entire party must give them its full support. We must learn all about the reform and doggedly implement it. We must not create new economic programs and must only implement the plans designed to emerge from the crisis consistently. This concerns the entire party.

It has been a year since the joint 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the ZSL Chief Committee Plenum, which clearly defined our agricultural policy. In a short while, we will also jointly assess what we have done in this time, because an allied system of control is expressed in a joint program as well as in its joint implementation, and in joint responsibility for its effects. We are aiming to improve the supplies of the means of production to agriculture. Not all our plans can be implemented at once. However, we already have fertilizer and coal in our storehouses. We also have more machines. These are the facts, and this is our main activity. The needs of agriculture are great and much was said about this in the discussion.

It is also true that the agriculture of the Zamosc region has the chance of increasing its production. The better exploitation of this chance is the task not only of the newly-elected voivodship but also of the rural parish party cells.

PROCESS OF REBUILDING TRADE UNIONS VIEWED

LD101159 Warsaw PAP in English 1107 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] Warsaw 9 Jan -- The process of rebuilding trade union movement's structures in Poland went into its second year. According to the latest assessments, over 3.8 million persons joined the new trade unions.

Currently, over 40 per cent of those entitled to join the trade unions did so in 11 voivodships. In the 208 Polish biggest industrial plants almost 380 thousands persons, that is nearly one-third of the employed, joined the new unions. In this group, there also plants where 70 and 80 per cent of the staff are in unions' ranks.

Due to their activities which bring measurable results the new unions are breaking down the still existing barriers of distrust. Currently, it appears that a major problem for the new unions is to win over young people to their side. The participation of young people in the rebuilding of union's structures is still insufficient.

Another vital issue facing the new trade unions, which should be dealt with sooner or later, is the multitude of the new unions. Recently, there have been over 100 initiatives in favour of setting up strong nationwide structures.

Understanding this necessity, activists of some of the national organizations came out in favour of the creation of a collective body to consist of chairman of nationwide trade union organizations.

GROMYKO-SHULTZ MEETING IN STOCKHOLM DISCUSSED

LD101925 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1119 GMT 10 Jan 84

["Moscow and the Stockholm Gromyko-Shultz Meeting: No Advertisements" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Moscow 10 Jan (TANJUG) -- Official Soviet quarters have not given any public indication that Moscow and Washington have reached an agreement wherby during the Stockholm conference their foreign ministers, Andrey Gromyko and George Shultz, will have a meeting. The U.S. version of this agreement has not been confirmed here in Moscow either to the domestic or the world public, but it has not been denied either. Although the press here daily refers to various statements by U.S. officials, the meeting between the two superpowers at the diplomatic summit level remains totally outside any form of public discussion.

The Stockholm conference itself on the confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe is not yet at the center of attention of the public information media, although in Moscow's evaluation the fact that this conference was convened was the biggest success of the Madrid CSCE.

In this way the Soviet Union lets it be known to the whole world, and especially to the U.S. public and Washington's allies in West Europe, that Moscow is not taken in by the fact that Reagan suddenly got "the wish" to revive "his dialogue" with the East. The commentator in this connection stressed that the wish is motivated not by a genuine U.S. readiness to reach a sort of common approach with the USSR to the missile crisis, but by Washington's need to neutralize the adverse action to its strategy towards the USSR and the East as a whole. It seems that for now Moscow is interested in showing the world that the other side finds it more than necessary to introduce some bright hues into the alreay dark background of relations between the East and the West and that this is nothing but "pure tactics".

In its turn Moscow does not feel the need, nor indeed does it wish to do so, with a single gesture, even in the light of the agreed Gromyko-Shultz meeting, to help Reagan in his effort to create the impression that Washington's expectations are realistic.

It is characteristic for the official evaluations here that anything coming from the other side of the Atlantic -- especially U.S. messages about the readiness to resume the negotiations on Euromissiles -- is represented as part and parcel of a deliberate propaganda offensive to deceive the public. Moscow commentators claim that Reagan is trying to place the USSR in a subordinate position which is also the backbone of the verbal war between the two superpowers and which to a great extent has become a reality. The assessment that Washington is doing nothing to show readiness to make even the slightest concession in the direction of the position which the USSR has formulated as "the last word" for the resumption of negotiations is crucial for the Moscow stance.

Washington's latest indirect messages about its readiness to "continue" the negotiations both about Euromissiles and about disarmament problems as a whole are seen by Moscow as nothing more than an "empty tale" and "a hypocritical line." As confirmed in the latest PRAVDA editorial article, all these things -- including the points which Washington is trying to win in connection with the Gromyko-Shultz meeting in Stockholm, are interpreted in Moscow as a new evidence of "political dirty tricks" of the other side.

The USSR proceeds from its claim that prior to suspending the missile dialogue in Geneva it had given Washington a chance. However, since the United States refused to extend the deadlines for the deployment of missiles in West Europe, and is now not displaying any wish "to reestablish the previous situation," Moscow sees no reason to add anything to what the head of the Soviet party and state, Andropov, said one and half months ago. Things can be changed, it is stressed here, only if the U.S. secretary of state were to offer something new to the Soviet foreign minister, when in 10 days time they meet in Stockholm. Only in this case will the Gromyko-Shultz meeting be significant to Moscow. Only then will this meeting receive wide publicity and be accepted. Until then, and without that, it does not deserve any special attention by the commentators here, not even to the extent of announcing the meeting to their own public.

SUNDIC COMMENTARY ON STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

LD101903 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The most important event in Europe is due to begin in Stockholm in exactly 1 week. The foreign ministers of Europe, the United States, and Canada will meet at the conference on disarmament and confidence-building measures. This meeting will perhaps offer a ray of hope that the world and especially Europe may begin to extricate themselves from a dangerous crisis. A commentary by Milika Sundic:

During 1983 the world spent over $700 billion for arms and during the current year this sum will be considerably higher. It is those countries that have most that spend most money on arms, but this burden is carried with increasing difficulty by other countries in the world.

When the foreign ministers of European countries and of the United States and Canada meet on the 17th in Stockholm at the conference on disarmament and confidence-building measures, hardly any of them will be able to avoid the fact that disarmament and confidence-building measures cannot proceed alongside the intensified arms race that has enveloped Europe more than any other part of the world.

The world has already been informed about the sequence of the most important meetings of foreign ministers -- Gromyko-Shultz, Gromyko-Cheysson and Gromyko-Genscher -- but the nonaligned and neutral countries of Europe are seriously getting ready to make their contribution to the Stockholm conference. A major part of Yugoslavia's foreign political activity during the second half of last year was devoted precisely to that objective. Let us recall: The Madrid CSCE ended successfully thanks primarily to the nonaligned and neutral countries of Europe. However, as far as Stockholm is concerned and from the point of view of the time the conference is held, the situation is far more complex and the outcome of the conference on disarmament and confidence-building measures even more uncertain. Because of the break in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue on Euromissiles and of the freeze in the talks on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, which happened after the installation of U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles in West Europe, there is justified fear that the first days of the Stockholm conference may also pass off in bloc rivalry.

According to many assessments, the West will make a mistake if it channels the discussion at the Stockholm conference only in one direction. To make the USSR return to the negotiating table in Geneva without offering something tangible in return that could convince Moscow that to return the negotiations on Euromissiles and on reduction of strategic nuclear weapons will not be futile. So far Moscow believes that there have been so such hints from the West, and especially from the United States.

And yet, although one should not expect miracles from the Stockholm conference, it is a fact that in both the West and the East the tension with which the world entered the year 1984 has been relaxing. The U.S. Administration is making efforts to ensure that this year, the electoral year, ends with some sort of results concerning the USSR. Moscow, however, is not willing to help because it simply does not believe that the United States is interested in reducing bloc tension. Nevertheless, there is considerable hope that the U.S. European allies, which have found themselves in a dangerous whirlpool between the two world giants, will do everything they can to get out of it safe and sound.

The West European countries are favorably inclined toward the ideas represented by the neutral and nonaligned countries in Europe and it can happen that on this plane a kind of cooperation can be established with a view to diminishing the gap dividing the two superpowers. This conclusion is inferred from the fact that it is precisely the U.S. and European allies which are at the moment working hardest for the revival of Soviet-U.S. dialogue and some of them for the slowing down of the installation of Pershing and cruise missiles in West Europe. True, these concessions are not big enough to satisfy Mosocw, but, the situation being what it is, this could be the only hope against the Stockholm conference ending in a fiasco.

EUROMISSILE THREAT TO SFRY ASSESSED

AU101908 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jan 84 Weekly Supplement p 3

[Mile Ostojic commentary: "Yugoslavia and Euromissiles"]

[Excerpt] Any aggravation of interbloc relations, the destabilization of the situation, and the increase of danger in Europe affect all countries and peoples which belong to it, including Yugoslavia. However, the specific Yugoslav geostrategic position, its specific defense concept and potential, its independent and nonaligned international position, and its sociopolitical order provide a most powerful deterrent and also a special place and significance for Yugoslavia in maintaining balance and stability in Europe, but this at the same time provokes competition.

One cannot dismiss the possibility that the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Europe be used for such bloc aims, because the use of these weapons in a mutual exchange would most probably violate Yugoslav airspace and thus its sovereignty too. With the range of 2,500 km, they can reach targets on Soviet territory at the Black Sea coastal region, bypassing our airspace and passing over Greece and Turkey, which belong to the same military bloc. This way, however, they would reach a limited, small part of Soviet territory, and if they flew over our airspace they would be able to hit targets all over the territory from the Baltic to the Black Sea and as far as Minsk, including also all Warsaw Pact countries.

Any violation of our airspace and our national sovereignty would demand our most resolute resistance with all available means. Any hesitation in such a situation might be seen by the other side as a sign of weakness or concession on our part and might produce an undesirable reaction. Therefore what is necessary is not only our decisiveness in defending national sovereignity, but also organizational measures in the defense system and in strengthening the defense ability of our country in order to be able to respond to all possible provocations or to the jeopardy of our own safety by any side.

The present aggravated block relations, general confrontation and competition does not promise adherence to only announced programs of the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles, or SS-20, SS-21, SS-22, and SS-23 missiles.

One may expect new weapons and new places for their deployment, including other countries, such as our neighbors that are members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

That would be a new threat to the security in Europe, especially in the Balkans, where the idea of turning the Balkans into a non-nuclear zone is ripening more and more, the idea our country supports because it sees in it an opportunity for overcoming the crises, confrontations, and wars which have been present in the region for centuries, and for opening new processes in mutual cooperation and security in the region and therefore in Europe in general. That is why it is necessary to engage all peace-loving peoples and forces in Europe to oppose any further armament of Europe, which has long ago lost any rationality and sense except for fostering bloc confrontation and competition and which, unfortunately, presents a danger not only for them, but also for all other countries and peoples of Europe.

TANJUG EDITOR ON ALBANIAN 'NATIONALITIES PROBLEM'

LD101418 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0958 GMT 10 Jan 84

["A Non-Albanian Name Is Ideologically and Politically 'Degrading' and 'Immoral'; A note by TANJUG editor Milo Djukic" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jan (TANJUG) -- Enver Hoxha has had the best idea of how most efficiently to resolve the nationalities problem in Albania. The problem of national minorities, he often claims, has been resolved "on the basis of Marxism-Leninism" in his country alone. However, his recipe could be applied in Albania alone. Any possible application of the same model in any other country would have been described by Enver Hoxha as a "betrayal" of Marxism-Leninism.

What happens is that for almost 3 decades Enver Hoxha has been waging a persistent struggle to create an ethnically pure Albania. It has always bothered him that national minorities make up about 18 percent of the total Albanian population. Greeks are most numerous (about 400,000), followed by the Macedonians (almost 60,000), Montenegrins (several thousand) and others. Of course, Enver Hoxha denies these figures and evalutes their mere mention as "interference in the internal affairs" of Albania.

For instance, he claims that there are "about 28,000" Greeks which is the same number when -- according to this own words -- he reported on this to Stalin over 30 years ago. He reduced the Macedonians to a mere two or three little villages, and he attacks most vehemently "Titoite revisionists" for mentioning "the nonexistent Montenegrin minority" -- as he put it. Tirana official statistics do not register Romanies, Turks, Aromanians and other less numerous nationalities.

Having made the assessment that he had established an almost ethnically pure Albania, Hoxha informed UNESCO in 1976 through his government that the nationalities problem had been "resolved" in Albania. That report was under preparation for at least 10 years. In keeping with an unconcealed denationalization policy, which he revealed at the beginning of the sixties, the Albanian National Assembly -- at Enver Hoxha's initiative -- adopted under emergency procedure a decree on names. The law informed parents that they could give their children only "present-day revolutionary names." The press said at that time that "we have such nice names, like Alban, Ilir and similar names." The essential thing was that the names of children, and later of adults as well, could in no way become associated with a non-Albanian origin.

It was shown that the first decree was inadequate with the result that another was passed in 1975 which added and elaborated the previous decree. Even citizens of advanced age were not spared the dictate forcing them to change their names and surnames. The decree spelled out that "citizens who have unsuitable names from the political, ideological or moral point of view, or who have degrading surnames" must change their names and surnames.

The authorities, it was said, will help those who are unaware that their names and surnames were "immoral" and "degrading."

These "uninformed" Albanians in Albania will be helped by social organizations who, as informed "godparents", will give them new names and surnames. In addition, officials cannot register, or enter into the register of new births, a child whose parents may wish to give him "a name which is unsuitable from the political, ideological and moral point of view."

Just as for the law banning religion, it was said for those decrees on names and surnames too that they had been passed "at the request and demand of the citizens" and "in a broad democratic manner" too! The crux of the matter is that all non-Albanians in Albania are being forced -- with the threat of imprisonment of many years and in cases of strong opposition to a name change, even with the threat of a death sentence -- to renounce their national origins and identity so that in a "democratic way" they can make a contribution to the implementation of Enver Hoxha's nationality policy.

Only an Albanian name, in Enver Hoxha's view, is politically correct and ideologically and morally pure, while non-Albanian names are "immoral" and "degrading." The world has truly been given an unprecedented "recipe" on how to get rid of national minorities in a most efficient way.

[Belgrade TANJUG in English at 1730 GMT on 10 January carries a shorter report by Milo Djukic concerning the Albanian minority problem. The report is similar to the TANJUG Serbo-Croatian report, except for the first paragraph, which reads: "Despite Albania's official claims that it has solved the question of national minorities on 'the basis of Marxism-Leninism,' reports are growing more frequent on Albanian citizens fleeing to neighbouring countries, among other reasons, so as to escape persecution for their national membership."]

U.S. UNESCO DECISION, NONALIGNED NEWS POOL VIEWED

AU101217 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jan 84 p 6

[Milan Milivojevic article: "Openness Instead of Monopoly"]

[Excerpts] When shortly before the New Year the American Administration announced that the United States would withdraw from the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) by the end of 1984, one explanation given was that this UN body "was threatening the freedom of the press" with its activity. In this connection, one bore in mind UNESCO's activity on establishing a new, just international information system.

Thus, Washington has openly demonstrated that its intention is to maintain supremacy in the world information market, whose one-way flow serves to defend the interests of the highly developed countries of the "free Western world."

Goals

Realizing the damaging effect of this situation, as early as at the fourth nonaligned summit meeting in Algiers, the nonaligned countries pointed to the need to struggle for a new world information system, while at their fifth summit meeting in Colombo they officially obliged themselves to achieve these goals "through their own efforts and through more active cooperation on the bilateral, regional, and international levels."

The public information media have frequently served as a weapon of cultural and ideological domination and pressure. Limited economic opportunities, poor technical equipment, and a shortage of professional cadres have brought the nonaligned and other developing countries, particularly the newly liberated countries, to an unequal position in this field.

The formation of the pool of news agencies of the nonaligned countries was preceded by the realization that the struggle for a "decolonization of information" and for a change in the existing state in the world information system must be inevitably included in the process of political decolonization and in the struggle for new, more just international political and economic relations.

The pool was not envisaged nor created as some kind of supranational news agency, which would prevent and monopolize a free flow of information in the nonaligned world; its basic task is to facilitate the spread of accurate news about the nonaligned countries, to facilitate and to promote mutual cooperation of these countries in this field, as well as cooperation with the information media from other countries.

In the current conditions of an extremely aggravated international situation, when dialogue and communications are very disturbed not only between the superpowers and blocs, but are also rendered difficult within the bloc alliances themselves, cooperation of the nonaligned countries in the field of information is assuming an increasingly more important role. For this reason the nonaligned countries must make further efforts with the aim of promoting the effectiveness of mutual information, of improving the quality of information and its greater penetration in the information media and organs in the world in general.

On this plane the nonaligned countries have enjoyed UNESCO's great support and assistance, and the American claims about a "politicization" of this organization and about a "threat to the freedom of press" sound quite unconvincing and even misplaced.

BULGARIAN TRADE UNION DELEGATION PAYS VISIT

LD101919 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1640 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] Belgrade, January 10 (TANJUG) -- Representatives of the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation and the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions today, Tuesday, discussed current socio-political and economic trends in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and trade union activities.

A delegation of the Bulgarian trade unions' Central Council headed by Chairman Petar Djulgerov arrived today in Belgrade and met with a delegation of the Yugoslav Trade Unions Confederation headed by Confederation President Stojan Stojcevski.

In the ensuing talk information and views were exchanged on trends in the international trade union movement, the cooperation so far between the Yugoslav and Bulgarian trade unions assessed and cooperation for this year agreed on.